DOUBLE ISSUE: AUG. 30 / SEPT. 6, 2004

The Nation.

$2.95
$3.95 Canada

IRAQ'S
CONSTRUCTION
RACKET
hristian Parenti

ERRY'S ENERGY
PROJECT
lark Hertsgaard

NO BUSH,
O CHICAGO '68
Todd Gitlin &
n Passacantando

TAKING BACK
THE STATES
Joel Rogers

E TRAGEDY OF
MIDDLE EAST
POLICY
Avi Shlaim
Mark Mazower

ww.thenation.com

CLOSING THE 'RELIGION GAP'

by EYAL PRESS

#DXNKDXM**********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 TW
FEB 05 07
RON K UNZ USPA
555 BRYANT ST 371 #0137
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704 P0016

0 377539 4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Letters

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

WAKE ME UP—PLEASE!

Amherst, NH

■ I keep expecting to awaken and discover that this has all been a surreal *Through the Looking Glass* dream [Jeff Gillenkirk, "Election Postponed to Preserve Democracy," Aug. 2/9]. We have Der Vaterland Führer Tom Ridge telling us that Al Qaeda may be planning a major attack to disrupt our "democratic process"; we have the Federal Selection Commission investigating the protocols for postponing presidential elections (isn't *that* a disruption of the process?); and we have Duh-bya telling us eight times in one speech, "America is safer now." Safer? From what? From that pesky, dangerous "election thing"? Someone please shake me. I can't seem to wake up… BILL SIEGEL

McPRISONS

Philadelphia

■ Re: Sasha Abramsky's "Incarceration, Inc." [July 19/26]: The prison privatization trend seems Wal-Mart-like in its concern for bottom lines and political agendas over social responsibility or ethics. With privatization comes the blurring of chains of command and individual accountability. For years Amnesty International has documented cases of prisoner abuse by guards in US detention facilities and the failure of prison authorities to enforce policies, procedures and laws that could have prevented these brutal acts. We must insure that our correctional facilities are consistent with international human rights standards for prisoner treatment. Only by doing so can we hope to repair the damage to our nation's reputation by incidents like those at Abu Ghraib.

MARY T. SHAW
Amnesty International USA

SUDAN'S LONG WAR

Saint Paul

■ Re: Salih Booker and Ann-Louise Colgan's "Genocide in Darfur" [July 12]: I have been reading about the civil war in Sudan and am puzzled when the reporters talk about the ten-year or twenty-year civil war. It was a relief to see your statement that Sudan "has experienced civil war…since independence in 1956," because I remember being there in mid-1960, and there was fighting in Juba. In fact, my ex-husband often went to southern Sudan, hunted game and gave to the tribesmen, since they were forbidden to hunt and were starving. It was common knowledge where I was staying that the northern Sudanese were bent on exterminating the southern Sudanese. The civil war then and now is not only a cultural and class war, it is a racial war.

SUSAN CLARKE

OUR BULLETS, OURSELVES

Los Angeles

■ "Hey, shootin' guys is aw-right! If y'all are a woman op-pressed by patriarchal domination, y'all jes whip out yawr .38 and spling splang there you go, a man's brain spattered on the wall, and y'all are free, Free, FREE!" Claire Dederer, in her review of *SCUM Manifesto* ["Cutting Remarks," June 14], expresses sisterly admiration for the nutcase assassin Valerie Solanas, who gunned down Andy Warhol and some other poor shmuck who accidentally got in her way when she couldn't find her publisher to kill. The *SCUM Manifesto* "is a document of profound vulnerability, written in a voice of profound empowerment…a brutal call to arms." In this reading, the serial killer/hooker Aileen Wuornos and Squeaky Fromme are modern-day Joans of Arc. Well, why not? Lee Harvey Oswald, Sirhan Sirhan and let's throw in Jeffrey Dahmer just might be the cutting edge of a "profound" new progressive movement. CLANCY SIGAL

JOCKS IN LEFT FIELD

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

■ Kelly Candaele and Peter Dreier's "Where Are the Jocks for Justice?" [June 28] was excellent. But instead of asking, "Why aren't sports stars aligned with progressive causes?" perhaps the question should be, Why don't progressive outlets like *The Nation* cover sports in more detail? It's infuriating to watch sports documentary after sports documentary where the only political talking head is George Will. This past spring *The American Enterprise* ran a long, nonpartisan interview with baseball author Bill James; try to imagine the same piece in *The Progressive* or *Mother Jones*.

It's terrific that *The Nation* periodically speaks out in favor of Title IX and against exorbitant, publicly financed stadiums, but when the left ignores social issues in sports, it allows the right to frame them to their advantage. When several major school districts banned dodgeball, liberal magazines could have used that moment to demand a return to daily gym classes in public schools. But by their silence they allowed conservatives to have a field day presenting liberals as ultra-wimps. ANDREW MILNER

TRICKLE-DOWN THAT DIDN'T

Jersey City, NJ

■ Thanks to William Greider for his masterful review of the economics of the Reagan years ["The Gipper's Economy," June 28]. I worked as a social worker in the first Reagan term and saw my clients lose their Social Security disability benefits in a purge of the rolls. Some slipped into destitution and homelessness in a New York–area housing market whose rental units were disappearing in a triple crunch of repealed rent control, condo conversions (which forced them out of apartments they couldn't buy) and the resulting escalating rents. Reagan's welfare cutbacks hit them with one fist; Reagan's tax breaks to encourage churning in the real estate markets were the other blow. Homelessness increased remorselessly. And let's not forget how the demise of thousands of family farms meant that in the 1980s we could hardly watch the *NewsHour* without seeing a story of a farmer who had hanged himself in his barn.

Yep, the mystique of this man is bizarre. Future historians will have some shocks to deliver to America about how we were snookered by the Gipper. LOUIS B. MASSANO

HIS BRUSH WITH WAR…

Los Angeles

■ In Alexander Cockburn's excellent "Reagan in Truth and Fiction" ["Beat the Devil," June 28], there's one nit to pick regarding Ronald Reagan's war. Having lived in the area since 1930 (when my father began his thirty-nine-year career at MGM) up the street from where World War II training films were made, I can mention that that Army facility was at Hal Roach Studios. The nickname for that lot was "Fort Roach."

MARY LOU WHITMORE

THE LATINO MENACE

New York City

■ Daniel Lazare, reviewing Samuel Huntington's *Who Are We?* ["Diversity and Its Discontents," June 14], calls it "Huntington's best book in decades." The problem is that this book is based on factually incorrect and prejudiced assumptions about the main object of its fear—Latinos. Huntington concocts a new enemy to replace the old Communist threat, since terrorism itself doesn't appear a sufficient replacement. Lazare's review attempts to be balanced and winds up being dangerously bipolar.

Nowhere in his review does Lazare examine the empirical validity of Huntington's assertions, certainly not those demonizing Mexicans. For the vast majority of Mexicans coming to the United States, the overriding goal is to fit in—not to undermine American society. This is verified not only anecdotally but by a body of objective scholarly research. It is interesting to see Lazare and others treat this book so gingerly, given Huntington's clearly prejudiced interpretation of the facts.

(Continued on Page 30)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED AUGUST 11 VOLUME 279, NUMBER 6

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 TRUST AND TERROR

4 ELECTION MATTERS
Kerry's Energy Plan
Mark Hertsgaard

5 NO BUSH, NO CHICAGO '68
Todd Gitlin and John Passacantando

6 PRESS WATCH
Kristol's War
Scott Sherman

8 SEX, LIES AND POLITICS
Lara Riscol

COLUMNS

7 DEADLINE POET
On Bush and Hollywood...
Calvin Trillin

10 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
PBS Adds Insult to Injury
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

11 CLOSING THE "RELIGION GAP"
Bringing more churchgoers into the fold poses a complex challenge for Democrats.
Eyal Press

16 FABLES OF THE RECONSTRUCTION
The effort to rebuild Iraq looks less like an aid mission than a criminal racket.
Christian Parenti

20 DEVOLVE THIS!
Progressives urgently need a strategy to take back the states from the GOP.
Joel Rogers

22 GLOBAL FIGHTS GO LOCAL
John Nichols

28 LETTER FROM UGANDA
Andrew Rice

BOOKS & THE ARTS

31 ROSS: The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace
BEILIN: The Path to Geneva: The Quest for a Permanent Agreement, 1996–2004
Avi Shlaim

38 HAHN: Caught in the Middle East
YAQUB: Containing Arab Nationalism
LITTLE: American Orientalism
Mark Mazower

40 FILMS
The Manchurian Candidate
Rosenstrasse
Films of Anthony Mann
Stuart Klawans

Cover by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/Avenging Angels, photo-illustration by Stephen Kling; illustrations by Christoph Niemann, Karen Caldicott

EDITORIALS

Trust and Terror

The color of emergency alerts does not matter if the people producing the alerts cannot be trusted. That's the problem facing the White House and, more important, the citizens of the United States. The Bush Administration sounds the trumpets—An attack may be coming! An attack may be coming!—just after the Democrats conclude a successful convention but claims it is only doing its job. Still, the audience—the public at large—is justified in questioning the timing of the alerts or viewing them with outright cynicism, for this Administration has completely shot its credibility.

In launching the Iraq war, Bush peddled false information and maintained that the threat was far more serious than the intelligence (even the overstated intelligence) claimed. He opposed the creation of the Homeland Security Department, then flip-flopped after he was assailed for not paying sufficient attention to pre-9/11 warnings of terrorist attacks. He opposed the creation of an independent 9/11 commission until he could no longer resist pressure mounted by the 9/11 families. And he showed little interest in restructuring the intelligence establishment until the 9/11 commission and John Kerry made intelligence reform a campaign issue. In the middle of the latest terror-alert controversy, his Administration leaked the news that a computer whiz who had been passing on information about Al Qaeda had been arrested in Pakistan. This leak seemed designed to support the decision to raise the security level, but it came at a cost: Pakistani officials have complained that it enabled other Al Qaeda suspects to escape. When CIA chief George Tenet resigned, Bush said he would not quickly replace him. But facing criticism for his go-slow approach, he switched course and nominated Representative Porter Goss, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee and a former CIA case officer.

One result of such questionable actions and misuses of intelligence (often barely challenged by a supine press) is that Bush has made it difficult to fulfill one of the most vital job duties of a President: to warn the public at home and abroad about true threats and to persuade people here and overseas to take appropriate measures. Should years-old information seen in a new light prompt massive concern? Should an Administration that misled the country about WMD be believed when it announces—at a politically convenient time—that the threat from Al Qaeda is more pronounced than it was a week earlier?

Moreover, the use of a terror rainbow is questionable. The melodramatic color declarations seem barely useful beyond serving as obvious reminders that citizens should be alert. Speaking at a convention of minority journalists, Bush defended the latest alert, which ID'd several financial centers as possible targets: "When we find out intelligence that is real that threatens people, I believe we have an obligation to share that with people. And imagine what would happen if we didn't share that information with the people in those buildings, and something were to happen. Then what would you write, what would you say?" But people working at Citigroup's headquarters in New York and Prudential Financial's offices in Newark weren't helped much by the alert. Were they allowed to stay home until orange returned to yellow?

When it comes to the war on terrorism, little that Bush says can be taken on faith. What the public needs is for Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill to engage in nonpartisan oversight of the terrorism alerts, including routine hearings on the quality of the intelligence behind them. We have no illusions, however, that this will happen in the months leading up to the elections; more likely, citizens will continue to wonder whether they are being warned—or manipulated—by the Bush White House.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR/COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR: Hillary Frey
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Shane Goldmacher (*Washington*), Lucia Green-Weiskel, Demetra Kasimis, Mark W. Lotto, Carmina Ocampo, Katherine C. Reilly, Ben Somberg, Stacy Torres

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Gene Santoro; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Inga Knets
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Jane Sharples
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRINT COORDINATOR: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form.
E-mail is preferred, but letters to the editor and queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2004 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Kerry's Energy Plan

ELECTION MATTERS

In the 1960s John F. Kennedy inspired America with his pledge to put a man on the moon in ten years. Now, John F. Kerry is invoking that proud history to promote his own plan to end US dependence on Middle East oil. "This is the great project for our generation," Kerry declared in May, and his recent comments suggest it will be a major theme in the fall campaign as well. During Kerry's speech at the Democratic convention, for example, he mentioned the environment only in passing. But he spoke at length about freeing the country from Middle East oil, winning some of the strongest applause of the night by promising to rely on American "ingenuity and innovation—not the Saudi royal family."

Elevating energy over the environment is shrewd politics for Kerry. True, George Bush has compiled the worst environmental record in modern American history, while Kerry has earned a 96 percent lifetime voting record from the League of Conservation Voters, a nonpartisan group in Washington that has now endorsed him. But the Kerry campaign recognizes that the environment is not a decisive issue for most voters. According to Gallup's Earth Day poll, the environment ranks eighth among issues the voting public worries "a great deal" about—behind healthcare, terrorism, the economy, illegal immigration and unemployment.

So rather than hammer Bush on environmental issues per se, Kerry will send a pro-environment—and pro-economic—message by talking about energy independence. Building a "New Energy Economy" based on improved efficiency and rapid development of solar, wind, hydrogen and other renewable fuels, Kerry claims, will generate half a million jobs over ten years and give US firms leadership in some of the world's most profitable industries. It will also strengthen national security. In their newly released book, *Our Plan for America*, Kerry and running mate John Edwards call ending US dependence on Middle East oil one of the four most urgent challenges facing the nation (along with defeating terrorism, stopping the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and promoting democracy, freedom and opportunity around the world). No other domestic issue is given such prominence. Dependence on Middle East oil, Kerry and Edwards argue, threatens US security because it leaves the economy reliant on "authoritarian regimes...that do not always share all of our key interests." Stressing energy independence, in short, enables Kerry to criticize Bush on both the environment and Iraq—"Let's insure that no young American soldier will have to fight and die because of our dependence on foreign oil"—while also proposing an economic solution likely to please labor and capital alike.

Call it the 2020 plan. Kerry wants the United States to derive 20 percent of both its motor fuel and its electricity from domestic, renewable fuel sources by 2020. By no means would that end US dependence on foreign oil, but it would be a big step in the right direction. To get there, Kerry proposes to spend $30 billion over ten years on a mix of tax incentives, federal R&D and public-private partnerships. Significantly, he recognizes that improving energy efficiency, though not sexy, is the quickest and cheapest source of new energy. His plan calls for reducing the federal gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment's energy consumption by 20 percent while challenging the private and nonprofit sectors to do the same, with help from federal tax incentives.

Because transportation accounts for 70 percent of America's oil consumption, any serious alternative must confront the nation's addiction to automobiles. As Kerry points out, it's impossible for the United States to drill its way to energy independence, as Bush seems to intend: This nation has only 3 percent of the world's oil reserves but accounts for nearly 25 percent of demand. Instead, Kerry says he will "update and strengthen" fuel efficiency standards. But in a potential warning sign to clean-energy advocates, Kerry has backed off what he supported as a senator: demanding that Detroit's vehicles meet 36 miles per gallon efficiency standards. For that stick Kerry now substitutes a carrot: $10 billion over ten years to subsidize consumers, autoworkers and manufacturers as they transition to making and buying fuel-efficient vehicles. Hybrids are the most popular technology today, but Kerry wants 100,000 hydrogen-fueled vehicles on the road by 2010 and 2.5 million by 2020. As for electricity, Kerry will pursue his 20 percent green-energy goal by expanding the government's existing tax credits for wind and biomass to include all forms of renewable fuels. In a proposal likely to play well in critical Midwestern swing states, he touts electricity produced from wind and biomass—that is, agricultural waste products—as attractive cash crops for financially strapped farmers.

All this will be music to the ears of environmentalists, as are most of the positions Kerry has taken on explicitly environmental issues. As one of his first acts in office, he says, he will reinstate the Clinton-era roadless rule in national forests, which Bush has undermined. He will also prohibit logging of old-growth trees, reverse Bush's rollback of the Clean Air Act, ban snowmobiles and jet skis from national parks, boost funding for environmental enforcement and reform the 1872 law that allows corporate miners to pay literally pennies for extraction rights on federal land, which he has called "a national disgrace." Kerry even promises to "promote environmental justice" by reviving the keystone environmental principle of "polluter pays." As such, he would restore the tax on chemical corporations that finances the federal Superfund program charged with cleaning up toxic waste sites, often found in nonwhite, low-income communities. These sites' cleanup slowed to a crawl after Bush refused to reauthorize the tax in 2002.

But Kerry is no environmental saint. He and his wife, Teresa Heinz Kerry, own five luxury homes and an SUV—accoutrements of a high-consumption lifestyle at odds with environmental sustainability. He even told a Missouri audience that buying "a great big SUV is terrific, terrific. That's America." Indeed. Kerry also voted against the Kyoto Protocol on global warming as a senator and continues to oppose it as a presidential candidate. "I would reopen the negotiating process, fix the flaws and move forward," Kerry told Amanda Griscom of the online magazine *Grist* in his most extensive environmental interview as a candidate. (By flaws, Kerry means Kyoto's failure to require immediate greenhouse reductions from China and other fast-growing developing nations.) He favors expanded investment in biotechnology, anathema to many environmentalists. Bowing to electoral realities in West Virginia and Midwestern swing states, Kerry's energy plan budgets $10 billion to develop "clean coal," a technology most environmentalists dismiss as a wasteful chimera. And he supports vastly increased natural gas production, including a pipeline to move 35 trillion cubic feet of reserves from Alaska to the Lower 48 states.

Still, virtually all of America's environmental organizations will back Kerry in November because he is obviously preferable to Bush. The big question about Kerry is whether he will turn out to be another Al Gore: a politician who genuinely comprehends the immense environmental dangers and opportunities facing human civilization but who shrinks from doing much about them for fear of antagonizing powerful interests. How Kerry confronts this challenge will become clear only if he wins in November. It's easy to look good when you're running against the worst environmental President in history. Taking on the powers that be is a lot harder, even from inside the Oval Office. MARK HERTSGAARD

Mark Hertsgaard (www.markhertsgaard.com) is a correspondent for The Nation *and Link TV and the author, most recently, of* The Eagle's Shadow: Why America Fascinates and Infuriates the World.

No Bush, No Chicago '68

The war on the other side of the world was launched with high expectations but is now widely seen as a fiasco. Young Americans are being sacrificed in hostilities whose justification once sounded high-minded but has since decayed into a farrago of political dogmas, lies and distortions. Americans are sometimes negligent, sometimes brutal toward the people the US government is supposed to be liberating, and the latter want the former to leave. Support for the war erodes at home, and the President is despised worldwide.

The furies of the war echo in the furies of the antiwar movement. Despite efforts to sustain a playful mood, rage grows in activists' hearts. Rage has become a sort of identity looking for outlets, as the Iraq stance of the Democratic nominee for President frustrates antiwar forces. For months, demonstrators have been making plans to manifest their displeasure during the Republican convention in New York City in late August.

Peaceful demonstrators are squaring off with stiff-necked authorities over the city's refusal to grant permission for the rally they want. Meanwhile, other demonstrators welcome a chance to provoke mayhem. Their numbers may be tiny, but the press is primed to amplify the sour notes, acting on its ingrained principle, "If it bleeds, it leads." Authoritarian forces are ready to chortle at the resulting spectacle and swing public opinion behind them.

For all the differences between the Vietnam of 1968 and the Iraq of 2004, between Lyndon Johnson and George W. Bush, aren't the similarities a trifle unnerving?

Red-hot rage may seem in order when the country's values have been trampled upon by a government with a dubious claim to legitimacy. Yet the theatrics of rage can easily play into Bush's hands. Righteousness, if not rooted in humility and focused on results—on persuasive power—will offend more than it attracts and fall victim to its own arrogance, as surely as arrogance undercuts Bush.

The power of nonviolence rests in its welcoming spirit, its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power to elicit identification and its promise of reconciliation. Consider the brave young men and women of the civil rights movement, sitting with dignity at lunch counters throughout the South. In film footage of the time, you can see them attacked by uncivilized whites, who curse them, beat them—and thus reveal themselves as bullies and cowards. The civilly disobedient cover themselves in self-defense but never raise their hands in anger. They appeal over their adversaries' heads to the majority who, they believe—they have to believe—will see the justice of their cause.

As thousands of Republicans gather to nominate Bush for re-election, and as many more protesters—perhaps fifty times more—gather to express themselves against the damage Bush is doing, Americans of all stripes will be watching. Fair-minded people can understand dignified opposition even when they disagree with it. Rage in the streets is something else altogether. Protesters who spell "Bush" with a swastika, who smash windows, fight the police or try to block Manhattan commuters might as well stay home and send their contributions to the Republicans.

It is, or ought to be, so obvious that violence and chaos in the streets works to Bush's advantage that not a few oppositionists worry about the Republicans planting their own provocateurs in the protest. Such a scenario is not farfetched. Provocateurs know some history, too. They know that disciplined handfuls can start riots amid turmoil. In 1968 a substantial number of the toughs who surged through the Chicago streets, inciting the police to riot, were later revealed to be police and intelligence agents. They urged violent actions, pulled down American flags, led taunts and otherwise triggered police attacks. Afterward, demonstrators exulted, equating their seduction of the cameras with victory. But most spectators who watched the clashes on TV sided with the police. Richard Nixon's people knew what use to make of the footage. They strengthened their hold over the law-and-order vote.

In jittery 2004, swing voters in a country poised on a political knife-edge could again be stampeded to support the incumbent if they equate the opposition with disruption. Although we have no idea how many demonstrators are prepared to act recklessly, recent postings on antiwar websites suggest a go-for-broke mood among some: "If we kick their ass in the early part of the week, we're going to inspire people to come out into the streets and join us.... Harassing the shit out of the GOP delegates is going to create a mosaic of interesting, militant resistance." "We need to destroy the model of what 'normal people' think of protest movements: all that sign-holding, standing around and chanting slogans." "Who gives a fuck about some voter in Missouri? How about the billions around the world who are fucking tired of the U.S.A.?"

Everyone shares responsibility to avert a debacle. The police ought to be scrupulously well-behaved. The media ought to cover disruptions proportionately. Viewers must understand that the cameras are drawn to sensational excess. And the marchers need their own monitors to practice nonviolent discipline and contain any disruptors—who are, de facto, not misguided friends but opponents.

Now, in a precarious time, every force in America is being tested. The Bush Administration plainly flunks. The Bloomberg administration has proved its small-mindedness. But we who oppose Bush face our own tests. If, as the whole world watches, rioters hijack the protest, the fine intentions of millions will have been canceled by the behavior of a few. Let dissent with dignity win the day and let us get on with a more perfect chapter of American history.

TODD GITLIN AND JOHN PASSACANTANDO

Todd Gitlin, a professor of journalism and sociology at Columbia University, is the author of Letters to a Young Activist. *John Passacantando is the executive director of Greenpeace USA.*

Kristol's War

A silver lining amid the dismal outpouring of news from Iraq has been the unbroken parade of conservative (and liberal hawk) commentators who now admit—with mea culpas, half-apologies and sour complaints about Bush Administration incompetence—that they were misguided about the war. "The first thing to say," David Brooks professed in April, "is that I never thought it would be this bad." "I think it's a total nightmare and disaster and I'm ashamed that I went against my own instincts in supporting it," Tucker Carlson has affirmed. Says a recent *New Republic* editorial, "The central assumption underlying this magazine's strategic rationale for war now appears to have been wrong." But the most influential prowar pundit has thus far held his tongue: *Weekly Standard* editor William Kristol, who calls himself an "unapologetic hawk," and whose journal was the foremost incubation chamber for neoconservative thinking and strategy on Iraq.

For Kristol and the *Standard*, Bush's war against Saddam marked the culmination of a protracted crusade. In 1997 the magazine, owned by Rupert Murdoch, published a special issue titled "Saddam Must Go: A How-To Guide." The authors of one article—current US ambassador to Afghanistan Zalmay Khalilzad and Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz—proclaimed, in language that would later become familiar, "Saddam is not ten feet tall. In fact, he is weak. But we are letting this tyrant, who seeks to build weapons of mass destruction, get stronger."

The events of 9/11 created a historic opportunity for Kristol and his editors. Within days of the attacks, the *Standard* had already identified Saddam Hussein as a principal culprit for the violence. The cover of the *Standard*'s October 1, 2001, issue contained a single word—"WANTED"—above stark black-and-white photographs of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. "Evidence that Iraq may have aided in the horrific attacks of September 11 is beginning to accumulate," Kristol (and contributing editor Robert Kagan) intoned in an editorial. Over the next eighteen months, the *Standard* mounted a furious campaign against Iraq with a torrent of essays and editorials that, as we now know, were long on hubris and wishful thinking, and short on accuracy:

§ "It is not just a matter of justice to depose Saddam. It is a matter of self defense: He is currently working to acquire weapons of mass destruction that he or his confederates will unleash against America and our allies if given the chance." (Max Boot, "The Case for American Empire," October 15, 2001)

§ "If all we do is contain Saddam's Iraq, it is a virtual certainty that Baghdad will soon have nuclear weapons." (Gary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

Schmitt, "Why Iraq?" October 29, 2001)

§ "Iraq is the only nation in the world, other than the United States and Russia, to have developed the kind of sophisticated anthrax that appeared in the letter sent to Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle." (Kagan and Kristol, "Getting Serious," November 19, 2001)

§ "Today, no one knows how close Saddam is to having a nuclear device. What we do know is that every month that passes brings him closer to the prize." (Kagan and Kristol, "What to Do About Iraq," January 21, 2002)

§ "According to an Iraqi newspaper...Saddam told the bombmakers to accelerate the pace of their work...Saddam has been moving ahead into a new era, a new age of horrors where terrorists don't commandeer jumbo jets and fly them into our skyscrapers. They plant nuclear bombs in our cities." (Kagan and Kristol, "Back on Track," April 29, 2002)

This incendiary language, directed at a grieving, traumatized nation, appeared in the pages of the nation's most influential conservative journal of opinion—one that has a symbiotic relationship with the present Administration. "Dick Cheney does send over someone to pick up thirty copies of the magazine every Monday," Kristol bragged to the *New York Times* on the eve of war. And the *Washington Post* has reported that Kristol meets regularly with Karl Rove and Condoleezza Rice. Kristol's clout in Washington, combined with his bellicosity toward Iraq, inspired in mid-2002 a phrase from columnist Richard Cohen: "Kristol's war."

A hallucinatory quality infused the *Standard*'s Iraq coverage right up through the first phase of the war, and beyond. "In all likelihood, Baghdad will be liberated by April," contributing editor Max Boot averred in February 2003, adding, "This may turn out to be one of those hinge moments in history—events like the storming of the Bastille or the fall of the Berlin Wall—after which everything is different." A delusionary note was sounded immediately after the fall of Baghdad, when a *Standard* editorial, written by executive editor Fred Barnes, wondered if George W. Bush would be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for toppling Saddam.

In mid- to late 2003, as the Iraqi resistance proliferated, the *Standard* dug in its heels with a series of editorials demanding additional resources for the war effort, while simultaneously expressing a rosy view. "Iraq has not descended into inter-religious and inter-ethnic violence," the editors announced last September. "There is food and water. Hospitals are up and running." As recently as June, the editors informed their readers that "we are actually winning the war in Iraq," and went on to say "the security situation, though inexcusably bad, looks as if it may finally be improving; Moktada al-Sadr seems to have been marginalized, and the Shia center is holding; there is nothing approaching civil war."

At the same time, the *Standard* worked assiduously to forge a link between Iraq and Al Qaeda. Over the past eight months, the magazine has published three cover stories on the "connection" by staff writer Stephen Hayes. "Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein," Hayes wrote in November, in an article praised by Cheney, "had an operational relationship from the early 1990s to 2003 that involved training in explosives and *weapons of mass destruction*...." (Emphasis added.) Hayes's second cover story arrived on newsstands just weeks before a staff statement by the 9/11 commission transformed his theory into a pile of rubble. (In the *Standard*'s June 28 issue, Kristol dismissed the work of the 9/11 commission as "sloppy" and "unimpressive.")

The performance of Kristol & Co. raises disconcerting questions about the magazine. Is the *Standard*, which publishes the work of respected commentators like Christopher Caldwell, Joseph Epstein and John DiIulio Jr., a weekly compendium of responsible conservative opinion, or is it a haven for charlatans, conspiracy theorists and con men? In a recent appearance on Terry Gross's *Fresh Air*, Kristol groused about the Bush Administration's handling of the war but was rather reticent on the subject of Iraq's WMD. Not so long ago, Kristol addressed the matter with confidence. Before US troops entered Baghdad, he assured his readers, "The war itself will clarify who was right and who was wrong

CALVIN TRILLIN

Bush, After Saying He'll Cede Hollywood to the Democrats Because He Has the Regular People Behind Him, Sings a Song to That Effect, to the Tune of That Old Margaret Whiting Favorite, 'Faraway Places'

Regular people, just plain working folks
Always stood out in my eyes.
I scorn all those people who drink wine instead
Of eating Frito pies.

Prince Bandar bin Sultan's a regular Joe—
Bandar eats grits and he hunts.
Ol' Bandar digs NASCAR and country and snuff,
And that's why I do what he wants.

Bridge (sung with gusto):
That Kenny Boy Lay was the salt of the earth.
Too bad he took the fall.
I like CEOs, they're all common as dirt.
I liked Kenny Boy best of all.

It's plain folks with money this country's about.
Not Hollywood, not all that smut.
To people in bluejeans with millions I pledge
Your taxes will be cut.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

about weapons of mass destruction." The verdict is in; we have the facts; the matter has been clarified. Writers like David Brooks and Tucker Carlson, who have an extensive history with the *Standard*, have already unburdened themselves. It's time for William Kristol to follow their lead and say he was wrong. SCOTT SHERMAN

Scott Sherman is a Nation *contributing writer.*

Sex, Lies and Politics

Throwing a bone to its sex-obsessed religious base, the GOP has slipped an abstinence activist into its convention mix of mostly moderate speakers. Miss America 2003 will put a smiley face on President Bush's bulging chastity industry, for which he has allotted $273 million in his 2005 budget, plus a third of the $15 billion global AIDS-relief package.

The ascendancy of abstinence-only under Bush has not only altered funding priorities; it has sanctioned a climate of hostility toward sexual health professionals, who increasingly face harassment, intimidation and marginalization if they stray from the abstinence-only-unless-married line. For example, in the spring of 2003 a Tennessee teacher's thirty-year career nearly derailed after she commented on an abstinence video shown to her seventh-grade health class (her comments, presumably critical, were not made public). Charged with incompetence and insubordination, she was retrained and reassigned. Or take the Florida teacher who was suspended after his students used a banana to demonstrate how to put on a condom; he couldn't make the meeting where school officials fired him because his wife was in labor.

Even abstinence educators face right-wing wrath if they depart from the movement's dogma. University of Arkansas health science professor Michael Young, co-author of the award-winning "Sex Can Wait" curriculum, has been targeted by conservatives simply because he adheres to a law dictating that abstinence education be medically accurate and neutral on religion and abortion. Young was vilified by Focus on the Family and the Abstinence Clearinghouse for conducting a university-approved survey asking state abstinence coordinators how they define "sexual activity." "I've been involved in controversy forever," said Young, a Southern Baptist deacon, "but I never before felt I could lose my job." After an aide to US Congressman Dave Weldon smeared Young last year, the state dropped its contract for "Sex Can Wait."

Unlike buttoned-down Young, the bearded, free-spirited University of Kansas professor Dennis Dailey seems just the 1960s throwback conservatives love to slam. A single student complaint spun into accusations that "Dr. Dailey's a pedophile," a dozen death threats and hundreds of ugly e-mails. The offended student turned out to be an intern for hard-right Kansas State Senator Susan Wagle. "It doesn't matter if what you're doing is good or bad," said Dailey, honored for teaching excellence when under fire. "When they attack, it's about forwarding their agenda."

Dailey noted that the field has always been controversial, but today's attacks are more vile and infused with more money. Sexuality professionals discuss this trend's chilling effect, but most insist on anonymity for fear of losing their jobs or organizational funding. "Principals are afraid, teachers are nervous," said Elizabeth Schroeder, a sex ed trainer and consultant. "We walk around on eggshells when we're offering life-saving, life-enhancing information." Eva Goldfarb, assistant professor in health professions at Montclair State University and co-author of the sexuality curriculum "Our Whole Lives," added, "The difference now is the assault is top down. It's sanctioned at the highest levels." Thus, after Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS) and Advocates for Youth initiated an online campaign against federal funding of abstinence-only in late 2002, the two groups were subjected to three federal audits each.

Caged and cornered, the thirty-seven-year-old American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors and Therapists (AASECT) and forty-six-year-old Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality (SSSS) are venturing into the political fray. With their members demonized as "the condom crowd" or "promiscuity pushers," these professional organizations have joined activist coalitions in support of sexual health education and research; are backing the comprehensive Family Life Education Act; and both chose unprecedented advocacy themes for their conferences this year. Of course, chastity crusaders have long shed any modesty about pushing a political agenda. While AASECT conference presentations in May included research on sexuality and aging, disability and sexual abuse, the Abstinence Clearinghouse's "Pure Country" conference in June included presentations by Focus on the Family, Bush Administration officials and Judith Reisman, known for pedophile smears against sex researchers like the late Alfred Kinsey. The Abstinence Clearinghouse, whose founder also runs an anti-abortion center, is a key cog in a retro-right movement experienced in ideological warfare. "Who wins in the end?" Dailey asked. "I vote on science, rationality and good hearts." LARA RISCOL

Lara Riscol, a member of AASECT and SSSS, is working on a book, Ten Sex Myths That Screw America.

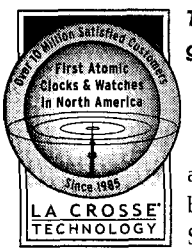
NATION NOTES

Sidney Morgenbesser, the philosopher's philosopher, died on August 1. Sidney was one of a kind. An ordained rabbi who didn't practice (but belonged to Americans for Peace Now); a scholar who mostly didn't publish (if your grandmother knows it, don't publish it, he would say, adding, "Moses only published one book"); a teacher whose main classroom was Broadway between 110th and 116th Streets (where he would wander like a kibitzing Socrates asking Columbia colleagues, students, friends and passers-by essential questions that as often as not had no answers); and not least, for many years a member of *The Nation*'s editorial board who made constructive trouble, and whose jokes, analytic interventions and nagging pushed us in the direction of clarity, logic, moral intelligence and humanism.

We also note the death on August 4 of Gloria Emerson, best remembered for her fiercely honest dispatches from Vietnam. In a 1995 *Nation* book review, she wrote that a writer must make war imaginable, for "in the detail is the horror."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the best time of your life



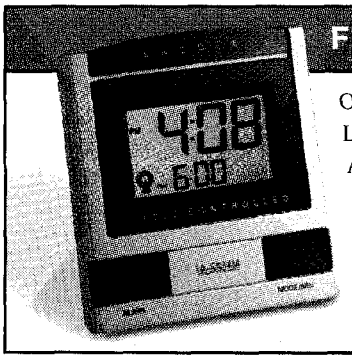
Technology creates greatest advancement in time keeping since the quartz movement... and lets everyone benefit from United States Government innovation. With the Atomic Digital Watch by La Crosse Technology, all of us have the opportunity to take advantage of our tax dollars at work, in a way that will positively impact our daily lives.

How can a watch possibly create such an opportunity? The U.S. Government National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) Time and Frequency Division, a division of the U.S. Department of Commerce, maintains the cesium Atomic Clock, a clock that is accurate to within one second in a million years, to monitor and maintain the official U.S. time standard. In Colorado our Government relies on the cesium Atomic Clock to create a national time standard to provide the most precise and accurate measure of time. The cesium clock drives a low frequency radio signal, known as the WWVB signal, which is transmitted at 60 kHz to your location at the speed of light.

The Atomic Digital Watch has a built-in receiver that automatically tunes in to the WWVB signal transmitted to the NIST stations on a daily basis, so that you can have the most accurate time in the world on your wrist! Imagine never having to worry about setting the time on your watch. Turn the watch on, select your time zone and the watch will set itself overnight. This watch will also automatically adjust for Daylight Saving Time (DST) and leap year. There is also a DST disabling feature if you live in Arizona or Indiana. With features that include a day/date calendar, 12/24 hour mode choice, signal reception indicator, adjustable band and 3-volt lithium battery, this watch is a great gift for anyone who needs to know the right time, all the time.

An unbelievably new low price. The Atomic Watch by La Crosse Technology is now available at a new low price. Originally $69.95, one of the most technologically advanced watches in the world is now available for the unbelievably low price of $39.95! Innovative Home Products home trial allows you to try the Atomic Digital Watch for 30 days risk-free. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it for a full refund of the purchase price.

FREE WITH PURCHASE!



Order today and receive, FREE OF CHARGE, La Crosse Technology's Atomic Digital Alarm Clock with a retail value of $29.95!

- Atomic radio-controlled time
- Automatically sets time
- Time alarm with snooze
- Backlight for easy viewing

CALL NOW TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS INCREDIBLE OFFER!

Atomic Digital Watch
~~$69.99~~ **$39.95** + S&H

Atomic Digital Alarm Clock
~~$29.99~~ **FREE** + S&H

A $99 value for only $39.95!!

Promotional Code ADW-Z070
Please mention this when you call.

866-607-8738

To order by mail, please call for details.

INNOVATIVE HOME PRODUCTS

Call toll-free 24 hours a day **866-607-8738**

DISCOVER NOVUS VISA MasterCard Cards

www.InnovativeHomeProducts.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

PBS Adds Insult to Injury

The far right's decades-long campaign to falsely brand PBS a leftist conspiracy—one that apparently included giving shows to such commies as William F. Buckley, Louis Rukeyser, Ben Wattenberg and *Fortune* magazine—has really hit pay dirt this year, first in creating a show around CNN's conservative talking head Tucker Carlson, and now, far more egregiously, in creating a program for the extremist editorial board of the *Wall Street Journal*.

Crossfire co-host Tucker Carlson is a nice guy and among the least offensive of contemporary conservative pundits. Unfortunately, that is damn faint praise indeed. In recent weeks, the purposely inflammatory demagogy of PBS's newest host has included a description of John Edwards as "specializing in Jacuzzi cases," owing to the lawyer's successful representation of a small child who saw her intestines sucked out inside a wading pool. Carlson has compared the Democratic Party's efforts to keep track of its own racial data to those of Gestapo head and SS chief Heinrich Himmler, and he accused John Kerry of demanding that "dark skinned foreigners from the Middle East fight our war for us." No less odiously, he defended GOP smear tactics against the legless Democratic Vietnam veteran Max Cleland, who was linked with Osama bin Laden in one of the most scurrilous campaigns of the past century.

Still, the insult of throwing up Carlson to quiet the whining of crybaby conservatives pales in comparison to the injury of offering up millions of dollars in taxpayer and viewer-donated resources of our public broadcasting service to the far-right ideologues behind the *Journal Editorial Report*. Short of turning the broadcast day over to Rush Limbaugh or Richard Mellon Scaife, it's difficult to imagine a more calculated effort to undermine PBS's intended mission of providing alternative programming than this subsidy to a wealthy, conservative corporation to produce yet another right-wing cable chat show.

But ideology is only the half of it. I lack the space here to do justice to the many instances in which the *Journal* editors—who are responsible for producing what is, according to Alex Jones, head of the Shorenstein Center at Harvard, "perhaps the most influential, most articulate, most ferocious opinion page in the country"—have trampled on the rules of basic journalistic fairness. In *What Liberal Media?* I describe numerous examples of the editors' deliberately misleading their readers—even in some cases ignoring or contradicting the first-rate reporting of the paper's news pages. The quality of the editorial page's sourcing is of no apparent concern when an enemy is declared. Lyndon LaRouche's minions were used as backup to spread false rumors about Michael Dukakis's mental health. Known liars and thieves provided the grist for an endlessly spun web of fictional intrigue involving Bill Clinton's alleged murder plots and drug-running in Arkansas.

In a lengthy examination in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Trudy Lieberman found six dozen examples of disputed *Journal* editorials and op-eds. She discovered that "on subjects ranging from lawyers, judges, and product liability suits to campus and social issues, a strong America, and of course, economics, we found a consistent pattern of incorrect facts, ignored or incomplete facts, missing facts, uncorroborated facts." In many of these cases, the editors refused to print a correction, preferring to allow the aggrieved party to write a letter to the editor, which would be printed much later, and then let the reader decide whose version appeared more credible. Almost never does the paper correct the record or admit its errors.

Recently Peggy Noonan, who writes for the page, decided to return to her original job as a flack for the GOP. This is, in a way, unfortunate, as PBS viewers will be denied the entertainment value of her analysis, which has on occasion included anti-Communist magic dolphins sent by God to save Elián González and posthumously delivered sermons by the late Senator Paul Wellstone excoriating the mourners at his own funeral.

As I wrote in this space when CNBC ran its version of the same show—on a for-profit, conservative cable network, I might add—"To find the same combination of conviction, partisanship and ideological extremism on the far left, a network would need to convene a 'roundtable' featuring Noam Chomsky, Alexander Cockburn, Vanessa Redgrave and Fidel Castro." But perhaps what is most offensive about PBS's decision to fund and broadcast Carlson (who already has a show on CNN five evenings a week) and the *Journal* editors (whose preaching is subsidized and distributed by the Dow Jones Corporation, whose profit last year topped $1.5 billion) is that it is being portrayed by its sponsor, New York's WETA, as "balance" for the program *Now With Bill Moyers*. In fact, these conservative opinion programs are in no way comparable to Moyers's show. Though Moyers is unarguably a liberal, his show is not a program of ideological advocacy but of public journalistic investigation. Its primary function is to air reports of corporate and governmental abuses that appear nowhere else in the media, and to explore all sides of contentious issues. When Moyers does an interview, you are just as likely to get a Robert Bartley, a Grover Norquist or a Paul Gigot as anyone on the liberal side of the aisle. When Moyers retires at the end of the year (at which time PBS will reduce the show to a half-hour), his chosen replacement will be David Brancaccio, a reporter who comes from that hotbed of anticapitalist agitation, NPR's *Marketplace*. (Disclosure: Moyers and I are friends, and his patronage has helped me with my books on the media and democracy.)

Given the right's domination of television talk shows and its already strong representation on public broadcasting, the only imaginable explanation for the decision to put PBS resources in the hands of well-financed, well-distributed, unabashedly partisan and journalistically challenged ideologues can be naked political pressure. As we have seen over the past three decades, the relentless conservative campaign to "work the refs" works. If liberals are to retain their voice in the public discourse, they had better find a way to let the pooh-bahs of PBS know exactly what they think of decisions like this one, and what they plan to do about it. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

CLOSING THE 'RELIGION GAP'

by EYAL PRESS

At last month's Democratic convention, few words were uttered more frequently than the one that seems to roll most easily off the tongue of George W. Bush: faith. "Let me say it plainly," announced John Kerry in his acceptance speech. "In this campaign, we welcome people of faith." John Edwards thanked his parents, Wallace and Bobbie, for instilling in him an appreciation of "faith" from an early age. Barack Obama declared that Kerry "understands the ideals of community, faith and service," and added, to those who think only Republicans turn to religion for inspiration, "We worship an awesome God in the blue states."

That Democrats are eager to propagate this message is not surprising. The United States is, after all, an astoundingly religious country. And in recent decades, Americans who take their religion seriously have been flocking to the GOP in numbers that have left Democratic strategists alarmed. Back in 1992, voters who told exit pollsters they attend prayer services on a frequent basis supported George H.W. Bush over Bill Clinton by a margin of 14 percent. Eight years later, in 2000, those same voters backed George W. Bush over Al Gore by 20 percent. In the 2002 Congressional elections, the religiously devout also favored Republicans by 20 percent, prompting Trinity College religion professor Mark Silk to observe, "Never before in American history have churches been tied so directly to one political party."

Democrats are determined to narrow this so-called "religion gap," if not to close it, in the coming election. Yet they are well aware that the challenge they face is at once daunting and complex. When several hundred religious leaders, scholars and advocates gathered in a chandelier-lit ballroom in the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel in Washington, DC, in early June, the consensus was that the Democrats have an image problem. "Today, there is a growing misperception, fostered by right-wing political and religious leaders, that those who espouse progressive views are inherently antireligious," said John Podesta of the Center for American Progress, the liberal think tank that organized the event. "The purpose of our effort is to remind Americans that there are historic ties between the religious community and progressives."

Part of the reason for the image problem, however, is that Democrats have generally opposed efforts by social conservatives to impose their religious beliefs on other Americans, a stance that often leaves them open to attack as "antireligious," yet is crucial to preserving pluralism and tolerance. This is no small matter at a time when President Bush laces his speeches with biblical language, allows faith-based groups to compete for federal funding regardless of whether they proselytize, and enlists churches to register voters and actively assist his campaign. We are living, as Philip Roth has wryly noted, "in the fourth year of the ministry of George W. Bush." It was thus welcome that, in his introductory speech at the Center for American Progress forum, Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, affirmed the importance of maintaining the wall of separation between church and state,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

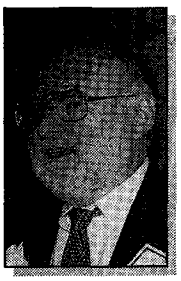
Book Now! Cabins Going Fast!

The Nation.

Eastern Caribbean Cruise!

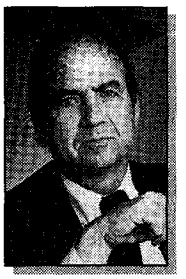
December 5-12, 2004

Victor Navasky and The Nation *invite you to join our SEVENTH ANNUAL SEMINAR CRUISE.*



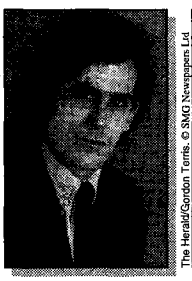
Victor Navasky
Publisher and Editorial Director, *The Nation*

Katrina vanden Heuvel
Editor, *The Nation*



Calvin Trillin
Bestselling Author and *The Nation*'s "Deadline Poet"

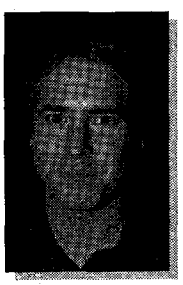
Molly Ivins
Political Satirist and *Nation* Contributing Editor



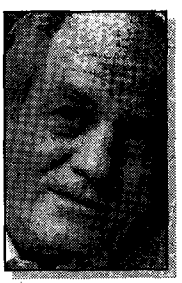
David Corn
Washington Editor, *The Nation*

Naomi Klein
Nation "Lookout" Columnist

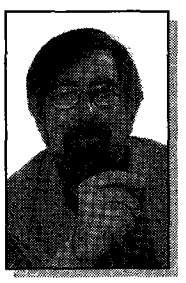
Eric Alterman
Nation "The Liberal Media" Columnist



Christopher Scheer
Co-author of *The Five Biggest Lies Bush Told Us About Iraq*

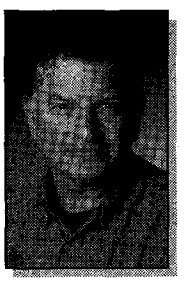


Jonathan Schell
Author of *Fate of the Earth* and *Nation* Disarmament Correspondent



Robert Scheer
Contributing Editor, the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Nation*

Patricia J. Williams
Nation "Diary of a Mad Law Professor" Columnist



Lowell Bergman
2004 Pulitzer Prize–winning Reporter for the *New York Times* and PBS's *Frontline*

William Greider
Nation National Affairs Correspondent

Laura Flanders
Host of *The Laura Flanders Show*, Air America Radio and Author of *Bushwomen: Tales of a Cynical Species*

Date	Day	Ports of Call	Arrive	Depart
Dec. 5	Sun	Ft. Lauderdale, Florida		5:00PM
Dec. 6	Mon	Nassau, Bahamas	7:00 AM	12:00NN
Dec. 7	Tue	Day at Sea		
Dec. 8	Wed	Phillipsburg, St. Maarten	8:00AM	6:00PM
Dec. 9	Thu	Road Town, Tortola	7:00AM	4:00PM
Dec. 10	Fri	Day at Sea		
Dec. 11	Sat	Half Moon Cay, Bahamas	8:00AM	4:00PM
Dec. 12	Sun	Ft. Lauderdale, Florida	8:00AM	

Holland America Line

A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE®

THE CRUISE AUTHORITY®

1307 Powers Ferry Road
Marietta, GA 30067-5409
(770) 952-8300
(800) 707-1634
(770) 916-1425 Fax
e-mail: groups@tcacruise.com

Call Toll Free (888) 833-4339
or visit our website
WWW.NATIONCRUISE.COM
for The Nation Cruise Information Kit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reminding the audience that, far from inhibiting religion, this division "has allowed religion to flourish" by keeping government out of the pews. Saperstein took to task the Catholic bishops who announced they would refuse to let John Kerry take Communion because he is prochoice, arguing that while Americans have a right to know how a politician's religious beliefs influence his or her policies, it's wrong to demand that decisions be made solely on the basis of faith.

These are important principles—principles that, as it happens, the vast majority of Americans share. A recent *Time* magazine poll found that 70 percent of Catholics believe the Catholic Church should not try to influence the positions Catholic politicians take. On the other hand, if the emphasis on separating faith and politics alienates religious progressives and dampens their social activism, the left stands to lose a lot—both at the ballot box and in terms of social progress. For as the historian Taylor Branch pointed out in a speech following Rabbi Saperstein's, many progressive social movements—most conspicuously, the civil rights movement—have had a spiritual foundation. In his recent book *A Stone of Hope*, the historian David Chappell convincingly likens the civil rights movement to a religious revival, showing how black Southerners inspired by the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament spearheaded the drive to abolish "the sin of segregation." "Don't talk to me about atheism," Mississippi activist Fannie Lou Hamer told the students who came down South to participate in the movement. "Our religion is very important to us."

Forty years later, many secular liberals remain as uncomfortable with such talk as Northern liberals often were in the 1950s and '60s, viewing religion as at best a barrier to enlightenment and progress, at worst a wellspring for bigotry and intolerance. Such attitudes are partly a reflection of the strand of anti-clericalism that has long pervaded liberal thought. They are also a product of the success that figures like Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell have had in presenting themselves as the public face of religion in this country—despite the fact that they speak for a minority of religious Americans. A recent survey by *Religion & Ethics Newsweekly* found that evangelical Christians on the whole gave Falwell a marginally unfavorable rating. It also found that many evangelicals (in particular, those who are African-American or Hispanic) care more about jobs and the economy than issues like gay marriage and abortion. Secular liberals may shudder when informed that roughly 40 percent of Americans are born-again Christians; few are aware that, of this total, roughly one-third are "freestyle evangelicals" whose political views are eclectic, and that another 15–20 percent are members of minority groups that tend to vote Democratic. In addition to these groups are millions of mainline Protestants and centrist Catholics whose faith takes more moderate forms. For many in the latter camp, religion serves not only as a source of spiritual fulfillment but as a spur to social action on a range of issues—the death penalty, homelessness, violence against women, global inequality—close to the hearts of secular progressives.

Can such people become vocal and organized enough to counterbalance the religious right? Tom Perriello, one of the founders of Res Publica, a communications firm established recently to help the progressive faith community raise its stature in the media, believes they can. Though Perriello concedes that, to date, no force comparable to the Christian Coalition has emerged on the left, he says that between the war in Iraq and the tax cuts at home, the extremism of the Bush Administration has lit a fire under many people of faith with more moderate views. "These are people who don't necessarily think of themselves as progressive," Perriello explains, "but they are unequivocal in their support for most just policies for the neediest, for peacemaking, for protecting the environment, for enhancing the common good." One such group, FaithfulAmerica.org, recently aired an advertisement on Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya in which a rabbi, a Muslim cleric, a Presbyterian minister and a nun apologize for the abuses at Iraqi prisons. ("We condemn the sinful and systemic abuses committed in our name," their statement declares.) Modeling itself after MoveOn.org, Faithful America has signed up more than 115,000 members for an e-mail list that it plans to use to circulate petitions and turn out people for future events. This summer, it is organizing a "Stonewalk" in which family members of 9/11 victims and religious leaders will drag a 1,400-pound granite monument honoring "Unknown Civilians Killed in War" from Boston to New York, the respective sites of the Democratic and Republican conventions.

Between the war in Iraq and the tax cuts at home, Bush's extremism has lit a fire under people of faith with more moderate views.

A few weeks before the Center for American Progress conference, I attended "Pentecost 2004," a three-day Christian mobilization designed to rally a broad coalition of religious leaders against poverty. The event was organized by Call to Renewal, a progressive faith-based organization that publishes the magazine *Sojourners*. The speakers' list was bipartisan—featuring both Rosa DeLauro, a Democratic Congresswoman from Connecticut, and Alphonso Jackson, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the Bush Administration—but the mood was decidedly not. After DeLauro delivered her speech, an impassioned broadside against the Bush Administration's tax and budget policies, she received a standing ovation. But when Jackson told the audience that being poor was merely "a state of mind" and that the best thing government could do was stay out of the way, the reaction was chilly. As his speech drew to a close, few clapped. One man stood up and, shouting across the room before Jackson could reach the exit, asked what the Bush Administration was doing for people like the woman he'd met by chance that morning on the street, a mother who worked as a prostitute at night because she didn't earn enough to support her family from her daytime job. "Well, I would say to you that you should ask a different question," Jackson replied. "What are you going to do for her?" Here was "compassionate conservatism" distilled to its essence. The audience responded with a cascade of hisses and boos.

By refocusing the debate about values away from what happens in the bedroom and toward issues like homelessness and poverty, strategists like Perriello believe progressives can reclaim the moral

Eyal Press is a Nation *contributing writer.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

high ground in American politics while mobilizing religious activists to advance concerns they share. At the Call to Renewal conference, Jim Wallis, editor-in-chief of *Sojourners*, echoed this line, arguing that unlike inherently divisive issues such as gay marriage and abortion, a campaign against poverty could unify Christians "across political and denominational lines." It's an inspiring thought, although in reality such a campaign would likely fracture along familiar political lines. For as Jackson's speech showed, framing poverty as a religious issue can as easily buttress a conservative agenda as a progressive one. The faith community is ultimately no less divided about the causes of poverty than the rest of society is, with some viewing it as a "state of mind" for which individuals have themselves to blame, others as a product of structural inequality that requires a radically different set of policies.

That said, the Call to Renewal conference did underscore the fact that, contrary to some common stereotypes about religious communities, more than just a smattering of ultraliberal congregations in a handful of blue states are open to the latter view. Between panel discussions one day, I spoke with Ron Sider, a born-again Christian who heads the group Evangelicals for Social Action. Like most evangelicals, Sider opposes gay marriage and is passionately antiabortion. But he also opposes Bush's tax cuts and is passionate about fighting poverty, arguing that the Bible compels Christians to care about "both the family and the poor." During a panel discussion suffused with references to biblical passages—Luke 1, Amos 5, Isaiah 58—Sider called for expanding the earned-income tax credit, more generous food stamps, a living wage and "an end to the scandal of 42 million Americans without healthcare." Said Sider in explaining the basis for his beliefs, "I don't think God is a Marxist, but frequently the Bible suggests that people get rich by oppression or are rich and don't share what they have—and in both cases, God is furious."

The problem is not that religious traditionalists vastly outnumber moderates, but that they are far more politically mobilized.

There is no question that for Democrats, finding common ground with evangelicals like Sider is important. The last two Democratic Presidents, Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, both fared well among "freestyle evangelicals," with Clinton winning 55 percent of their vote in 1992 and 1996. Al Gore, by contrast, lost this group by ten percentage points, a factor that possibly cost him the election. Using John Edwards, a Southern Protestant, as a bridge to this constituency is, for the Kerry campaign, clearly advisable. Were Kerry to reach out to such voters by waffling on social issues like gay marriage and abortion, however—issues that people like Jim Wallis believe should not be made a litmus test in the Democratic Party—he would risk alienating the growing number of secular and moderately religious Americans who lean overwhelmingly to the left and care deeply about these issues, notes John Green, a leading authority on religion and politics who teaches at the University of Akron. The pollster Stanley Greenberg has described secular voters as "the true loyalists" of the Democratic Party, estimating that they now make up 15 percent of the party's base—roughly the size of the white evangelical base on the Republican side. In 2000, voters who never attended church vastly outnumbered voters from the Christian right. "The Democrats would be in trouble if they tried to be a purely secular party," says Green, "but they would also be wasting their time trying to woo the most traditional religious voters, because they are firmly Republican, and they would have to give up a lot to go for them."

Viewed in this light, the religion gap appears less like a noose slowly tightening around the necks of the nation's progressives—which is the way the media have at times taken to portraying it—than yet another reflection of the fundamental cultural division in American life. The central rift in the religious landscape is no longer between members of competing denominations—Catholics versus Protestants versus Jews—but between traditionalists in all of these faiths, on the one hand, and Americans who are less pious on the other. The problem for Democrats is not that traditionalists vastly outnumber their moderate (and secular) counterparts but that, until recently, the former have tended to be far more politically mobilized. In the 2002 Southern midterm elections, for example, the turnout rate among evangelicals who attend church less frequently was 32 percent lower than among frequent-church-attending traditionalists, a factor that may well have tipped the balance to Republicans in numerous close races. The disparity in their participation rates between elections—lobbying, attending school-board meetings, making their presence felt in Washington and on the airwaves—is even more pronounced.

For this reason, secular leftists (and progressive politicians) ought to do everything in their power to make people like Christa Mazzone feel welcome in their ranks. A bright, attractive 24-year-old Washingtonian, Mazzone works as field organizer for Call to Renewal. She is progressive in just about every sense of the term—opposed to the war in Iraq, deeply concerned about homelessness and poverty, accepting of gay marriage, prochoice (although she personally does not like the idea of abortion). Mazzone also happens to have attended an evangelical college and, though no longer traditionalist in her faith, considers religion extremely important in her life. As a result, she told me, she often feels like a "freak" among her politically like-minded friends. It's a sentiment I heard frequently from audience members at both the Call to Renewal and Center for American Progress events, including from people who told me they were regular readers of this magazine. "The tradition of the political left seems to be to only listen to people of faith if they are African-American" and to dismiss everyone else, complained Brenda Peterson, who was recently named director of religious outreach for the Democratic Party, a newly created post. A similar view was expressed by Amy Sullivan, a former aide to Senate minority leader Tom Daschle, in the Democratic Leadership Council's magazine *Blueprint*. Talking about faith and values only in front of minorities is "not only a condescending strategy, but a foolish one," she wrote.

It's a fair point. But it would also be condescending—and quite possibly foolish—for John Kerry to counteract this perception by peppering his speeches with biblical references and talking effusively about his faith on the stump. Kerry is, by all accounts, a sincerely religious person, a former altar boy who

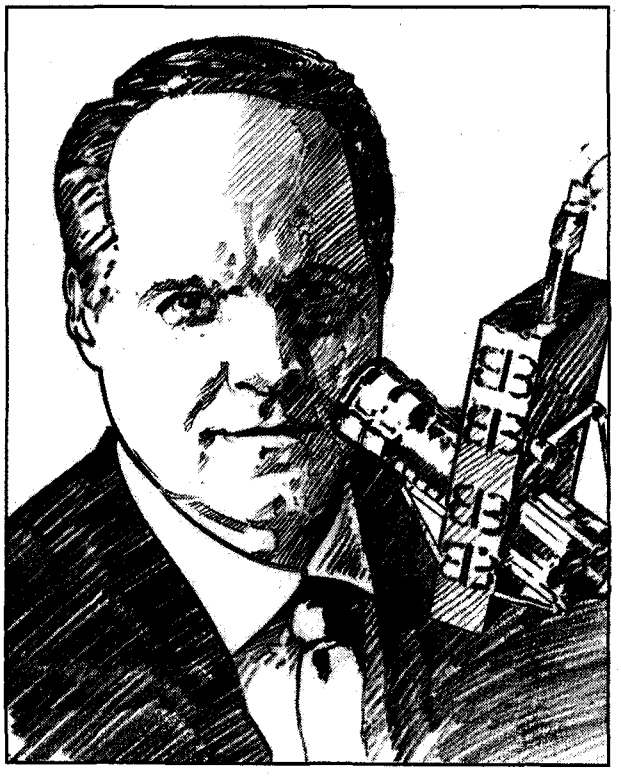
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUSTICE FOR ALL?

Richard Paey

25 YEARS

As Richard Paey sits in his cell, wheelchair bound, a subdermal pump delivers a steady flow of morphine to kill the back pain from a 1985 car crash. The 45-year-old father of three used to handle the pain with prescription narcotics, but when he moved to Florida he couldn't find a doctor willing to prescribe the appropriate amount of medication. They feared a loss of license or even prison. Like so many others, Paey was forced to use questionable prescriptions and got arrested. He refused to be forced into treatment for addiction because he's a legitimate pain patient. Now the state is providing his narcotics, along with room and board, at a cost to the taxpayers of perhaps $80,000 a year.



Rush Limbaugh

TREATMENT

When Florida narcotics officers busted talk show host Rush Limbaugh for buying large quantities of Oxycontin and other narcotics on the black market, he checked himself into a treatment center. After five weeks of rehab, he is back on the air. Mr. Limbaugh's illegal drug buys, over 90 pills a day at one point, make Richard Paey's pale by comparision. And while Mr. Limbaugh's use of narcotics began with severe back pain, he continued using long after the pain was gone. To catch addicts like Mr. Limbaugh, the government is targeting doctors, and the doctors are becoming so gun-shy they don't want to risk dealing with chronic pain patients at all.

"Write a prescription, go to jail. Doctors get sued for overtreating pain, for undertreating pain...and they can get prosecuted for the overdoses of patients."
-Roanoke Times, 23 May 2004

NEITHER SHOULD BE PUT IN PRISON.

Pain patients and addicts need medical help, not confinement

CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, Mike Gray, Chair; Robert Field, Co-Chair
DrugWarFacts.org, MedicalMJ.org, AddictInTheFamily.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

briefly considered a career in the priesthood and who regularly attends Sunday mass. But he is also someone who prefers to keep his religious beliefs close to the vest, regarding faith as a personal matter that deeply marks his character but does not predetermine how he makes his decisions in office. "I don't wear my religion on my sleeve," Kerry said in his speech at the Democratic convention, "but faith has given me values and hope to live by, from Vietnam to this day, from Sunday to Sunday. I don't want to claim that God is on our side. As Abraham Lincoln told us, I want to pray humbly that we are on God's side." It was one of the most compelling moments of his speech, a welcome contrast to the moralizing rhetoric of George W. Bush and a reminder that politicians whose religion takes less vocal forms are often the ones who most honor the tenets of their faith.

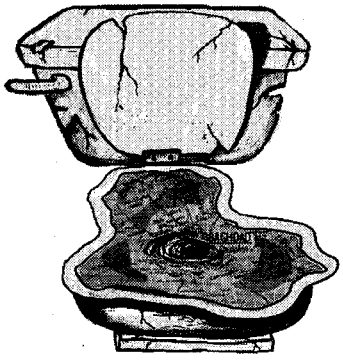
For Kerry, as for most Democrats, the more effective way to close the religion gap isn't by pandering to churchgoers with quotes from the Bible; it's by addressing issues—poverty, social justice, the environment—that many people of faith care about, while pointing out that Republicans do not, in fact, have a monopoly on values. In this respect, Kerry might take a page from Senator Dick Durbin, a Catholic Democrat from Illinois who, like Kerry, came under criticism from a priest for being prochoice. Durbin examined the voting records of his colleagues on an array of moral issues of concern to the US Conference of Catholic Bishops—not only abortion but the death penalty, the minimum wage, the concentration of media ownership. On the whole, he discovered, Democrats in the Senate ranked better than Republicans. The highest ranking of all went to the candidate some conservatives have been tarring as antireligious: John Kerry. ■

THE EFFORT TO REBUILD IRAQ LOOKS LESS LIKE AN AID MISSION THAN A CRIMINAL RACKET.

Fables of the Reconstruction

CHRISTIAN PARENTI

As we speed down the Tigris River under a brilliant sun in a fiberglass skiff, Iraq almost seems like Vacationland—but only for a moment. Soon we're dodging the half-submerged barges and ferries sunk in last year's bombing. Then two Black Hawk helicopters dash low overhead, their menacing door gunners fully visible.



KAREN CALDICOTT

Farther on, there are more bad signs. A strange column of dark smoke rises from a lush palm grove. And suddenly, huge nauseating plumes of raw sewage spill from pipes at Baghdad's southern edge.

Not far from these fetid torrents are several major water-intake stations and a handful of fishermen setting long gill nets from wooden boats. Several of the fishermen, their vessels tucked in the shade of reed patches waiting for the nets to fill, say the catch is in decline. "Sometimes the fish tastes and smells like sewage," explains one. Downriver, millions of people in cities like Basra draw their water from the Tigris.

The sorry state of this river is just one piece of Iraq's failed reconstruction. Throughout the country, vital systems, from water and power to healthcare and education, are in woeful disrepair. The World Bank estimates that bringing Iraq back to its 1991 level of development will cost $55 billion and take at least four years.

In the past seventeen months, US taxpayers have set aside a total of $24 billion to rebuild Iraq. Most of that sum has not been spent, though billions of dollars of poorly accounted for Iraqi oil revenues have been expended, or at least allocated to foreign (mostly American) contractors.

Humanitarians see reconstruction as a moral obligation: a form of reparations for two US-led wars and thirteen years of brutal sanctions. From a military standpoint, reconstruction is central to the US counterinsurgency effort. The occupation's star officers, like Maj. Gen. David Petraeus, readily acknowledge that a broken economy means more violence. But seen up close, reconstruction in Iraq looks less like a mission of mercy or a sophisticated pacification program and more like a criminal racket.

At the Rustimiyah South sewage-treatment plant, all is quiet except for a few mourning doves in the eucalyptus trees and a handful of Iraqi construction workers building a brick shed to house a new generator. This plant and its sister facility, Rustimiyah North, have been sitting dry—waiting for Bechtel, the largest US construction company and one of the lead contractors in occupied Iraq.

As soon as Baghdad fell, Bechtel was in Iraq making deals with USAID, the government agency tasked with overseeing reconstruction. In total, the firm now has more than $2.8 billion in Iraq reconstruction jobs. As the "primary" contractor on much of Iraq's water system, as well as key parts of its power grid and some of the healthcare infrastructure, Bechtel's responsibilities are quite broad. Its initial April 2003 contract stated:

> The contractor will commence repairs of water infrastructure in 10 urban areas within the first month. Within the first 6 months

Christian Parenti's book The Freedom: Shadows and Hallucinations in Occupied Iraq *(New Press) will be published in November. He is a fellow at CUNY's Center for Place, Culture and Politics. Research support for this article was provided by the Investigative Fund of the Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the contractor will repair or rehabilitate critical water treatment, pumping and distribution systems in 15 urban areas. Within 12 months potable water supply will be restored in all urban centers, by the end of the program approximately 45 urban water systems will be repaired and put in good operational condition, and environmentally sound solid waste disposal will be established.

None of those deadlines have been met—but luckily Bechtel's contracts are indemnified with loophole phrases like "depending on the availability of equipment."

The Rustimiyah sewage plants are among the few facilities given explicit mention as priority projects in Bechtel's contract-related documents. Together the two plants should handle all the sewage from Baghdad's populous east side, known as Rusafa; before the war the plants were fully functional but working beyond capacity. During the invasion they were knocked out by fighting and were then further damaged by looting. The sister plants haven't processed any sewage since April 2003.

Now their daily flow of 780,000 cubic yards of human and industrial waste—a nasty cocktail of organic solids, heavy metals and poisonous chemicals from a battery factory, a soap factory, an electronics plant and other light industry—goes directly into the Diyala River, which joins the Tigris seven miles southwest of the plants. A third plant, farther north, has just started up again, but it is working at only about 20 percent capacity.

Rustimiyah South's director is Riyidh Numan, a hospitable and reflective engineer in his early 30s working for the Baghdad Sewage Authority. Since Bechtel took over a year ago, his job has mostly consisted of sitting around and waiting for the foreign contractors to execute the repairs. Numan says the first thing Bechtel did when it showed up was to start painting buildings. He demanded that they stop and switch to repairing the plant's primary functions. Since then work has been slow, and all Numan can do is complain to the Baghdad Sewage Authority, which in turn dispatches impotent letters to Bechtel.

Only $5.3 billion of the $24 billion in US tax money set aside to rebuild Iraq has been allocated to specific reconstruction contracts.

On a tour of the wrecked plant, we stroll past the empty desiccation beds and the empty settlement and de-greasing tanks and then descend three stories below ground into the plant's guts. In a dimly lit, cavernous pit lined with massive pipes and VW-bug-sized German pumps, Numan speaks more freely.

"Bechtel got angry at me when I talked to *Azzaman*," he says, referring to a major Iraqi newspaper. "We were supposed to be back on line in June, then September. Now it's January. Every day we send untreated sewage into the river, thousands of people downstream become sick." He pauses. "This work is more important than schools. It's more important than hospitals. This is about preventing problems."

Will Rustimiyah South be on line by New Year's? For a moment it seems like Numan won't answer the question, then, looking in the pit below, he says, "No, this will not get done. The parts aren't even here yet." Asked about these problems, Bechtel spokesman Francis Canavan acknowledged the regrettable delays in the sewage rehab work but attributed them to the complicated nature of the task: Many old machines have to be custom rebuilt in Europe. And then there is the abysmal security. Looting and ambushes on all the main highways have held up the arrival of crucial parts.

But Iraqi engineers and engineering professors I interviewed at water-treatment plants and power stations and at Baghdad University all claim that the work could be going much faster if the "accumulated knowledge" of Iraqi engineers were put to better use.

"These systems, their repairs, they are not all on some blueprint somewhere," says Gazwan Muktar, a rather intense, highly intellectual retired electrical engineer. "You need to have the people who spent twenty years running these irrigation canals or power plants to be there. They know the tricks; they know the quirks. But the foreign contracts ignore Iraqis, and as a result they get nowhere!"

Conditions at the other end of the pipe—that is, at Baghdad's seven drinking-water-treatment plants—are also bad. At the Mishrul Magi Al Wahady plant, a crew of about a dozen engineers and technicians wage a quiet struggle to supply 15–20 percent of the city's potable water. Al Wahady first went on line in the early 1950s. Its capacity is now stretched to the limit, and a few miles upstream two sewage-discharge stations contaminate the river, making the plant's job even harder.

The plant needs lots of help. It lacks a forklift to move the huge metal canisters of chlorine gas (which comes from UNICEF, not Bechtel). It lacks emergency medical gear, basic tools and a lab to test its water for biological contamination or excess chlorine. Most treatment plants test their water three times a day, but here a mobile technician takes samples to a lab only three times a week.

The manager, Jabbar Sattar, needs a car—his was shot up by US troops a year ago and now sits on the plant's lawn as a totem to close calls and longevity. To get to the local government offices downtown or check on the plants' riverfront intake pumps, Sattar has to take cabs and use his own money. The plant even needs mundane things like lighting, a bathroom and desks.

"We had big promises from Bechtel, but I only met with them twice," says Sattar. There is one bit of good news: At the beginning of June, the US Army Corps of Engineers started supplying emergency spare parts and tools and helping to refurbish some of the plant's intake pumps down by the river.

The situation is almost identical at several other water-treatment plants I visited. Bechtel and its subcontractors are rarely around; the local managers are kept in the dark about what work is planned; the emergency support (such as supplies of chlorine gas and spare parts) comes from UNICEF, the Red Cross, the Swiss Embassy or various European NGOs and more recently from the US Army Corps of Engineers. Bechtel is never mentioned as providing help.

"Water is very important to life," says Layla Mijbil, deputy manger of the Al Wathba water-treatment plant in north central Baghdad. "And when there is no care for water there is no care for Iraqi life." Bizarrely, Bechtel waves off these complaints with reference to the limits placed on it by USAID's job orders.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We only do work that we have a job order for," explains Bechtel's Canavan. Who generates these job orders? USAID. And how does USAID make these decisions? "We submit the job orders to them for approval," says Canavan. It still seems that Bechtel simply gets to decide on its own how much work it will, or will not, do for $2.8 billion of US taxpayers' money. Canavan doesn't like this suggestion and says I am visiting the wrong places. I should go to the Sharkh Dijlah treatment plant, formally known as the Saba Nissan plant, or Seventh of April (named for an old Baathist holiday).

"We are doing a major expansion on that facility, says Canavan. All the equipment is brand-new. It's a major investment which will really help Baghdad."

As at most job sites, getting in requires five signatures from various Iraqi bureaucracies. When I finally get to the Sharkh Dijlah, just north of Baghdad, there is indeed construction under way, but no workers around. Bechtel has just sent out a warning about guerrilla attacks, and the night before some mortars landed in a village just outside the plant.

By late June, not a single cent of US tax money had been spent on Iraqi healthcare, water treatment or sanitation projects.

The Sharkh Dijlah expansion will increase the plant's potable outflow from 120 million gallons a day to 170 million. But on closer examination, the work is not as impressive as it seems. First of all, Bechtel's initial completion date was this summer, but by early July the work was far from done. And a second expansion has been canceled.

This project is not solely the work of Bechtel. The extension was started several years ago by the Iraqi government and a Greek construction firm. When Bechtel arrived, the designs were complete, 75 percent of the extension's parts were already delivered and paid for, and about 20 percent of the civil engineering was done.

Bechtel spent four months studying the plans, then announced they were adequate, kicked out the Greek firm, took over the project and allowed some of the original Iraqi subcontractors to continue their work. Bechtel was, according to its own paperwork, also supposed to assist in refurbishing and supplying the already existing parts of Sharkh Dijlah. The Iraqi engineers here say they instead rely on the local water department and some aid from the UN.

Progress in rehabilitating the electrical grid is also in limbo. At the Al Daura power plant, Baghdad's main source of electricity, Bechtel's main subcontractors, Siemens and General Electric, fled after four Russian contractors were assassinated, according to sources at the plant. Nationally, output was to have reached 6,500 megawatts per day by now but is stalled at 4,500 megawatts. Schools listed as fully rebuilt are in fact flooded with sewage and lack desks, but are often freshly painted. Health clinics listed as fixed are dilapidated, low on supplies and short on water and electricity. When I interviewed the Deputy Minister of Health, Dr. Amer Al-Khuzaie, he claimed not to even know the name of the US firm that has the contract to supply his ministry with medicine. Everywhere one looks, the reconstruction effort is marked by chaos, corruption and incompetence.

One problem is that most of the promised American financial help hasn't materialized. Of the $24 billion in US tax money set aside to rebuild Iraq, only $5.3 billion had been allocated to specific reconstruction contracts as of late June 2004. According to a report from the White House Office of Management and Budget, of the $18.4 billion reconstruction honey-pot approved last fall only $366 million had been spent by late June—that is, invested in Iraq. Instead of creating 250,000 jobs for Iraqis, as was the original goal, at most 24,000 local workers have been hired.

Most amazing of all, the OMB report showed that not a single cent of US tax money had been spent on Iraqi healthcare, water treatment or sanitation projects—though $9 million was dithered away on administrative costs of the now defunct Coalition Provisional Authority. Most of the little that has been invested in healthcare, water treatment and sanitation has come from Iraqi oil revenues, managed for most of last year by the Development Fund for Iraq, a US controlled successor to the UN-run Oil for Food program. In all, the CPA spent roughly $19 billion of Iraqi oil money—on what exactly is not quite clear.

A recent audit by the accounting firm KPMG on behalf of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board (IAMB)—a UN project to monitor the use of Iraqi oil money—found that four major CPA-awarded contracts were granted (in violation of CPA rules) without competitive bidding. For seven other contracts, which the CPA insisted were awarded via competitive bidding, there is no evidence to back up this claim.

Six other projects were improperly approved by a skeleton crew of the CPA's Program Review Board. Contract approval required the presence of at least 70 percent of that board's voting members, but decisions were frequently made without a quorum. The only Iraqi with voting power on the PRB attended a mere two of the board's forty-three meetings.

In the face of this damning KPMG audit, a CPA spokesperson told the *Financial Times* that "extraordinary steps" had been taken to make sure "the funds were expended in the interests of the Iraqi people." But a new report by the CPA's inspector general reinforced KPMG's conclusions, documenting extensive corruption and waste in the handling of Iraqi oil money by US officials and private contractors, twenty-seven of whom face criminal investigations.

What does the failure of reconstruction mean for the average Iraqi? The answer is evident in places like the village of Amar Bin Yasser, not far from where the Rustimiyah's untreated sewage hits the Diyala River.

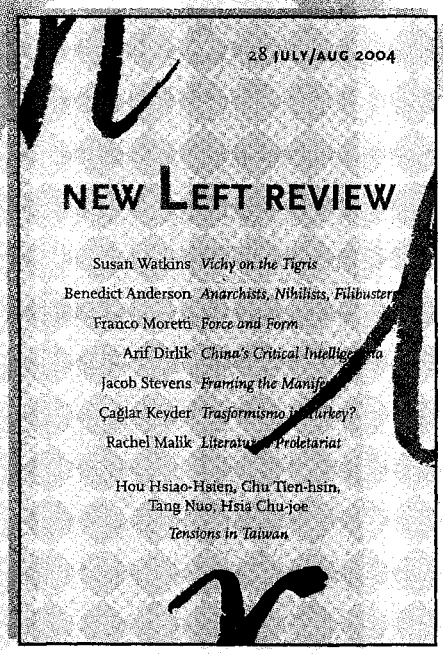
In a palm-frond-and-plywood kiosk by a road, Khalid Salman and his three young nephews sell lamb and mutton. The meat hangs in the shade, greasy and dotted with flies. Beside Salman and the boys are two peaceful sheep, oblivious to the fate awaiting them. Across the road is the river: a thick soup of sewage. Salman explains that since the war, he has been unable to use the river water even for his animals. Instead he has to buy water at ten dinars a liter (less than a penny) from tanker trucks that come down from Baghdad. The price is not high, but neither is Salman's income.

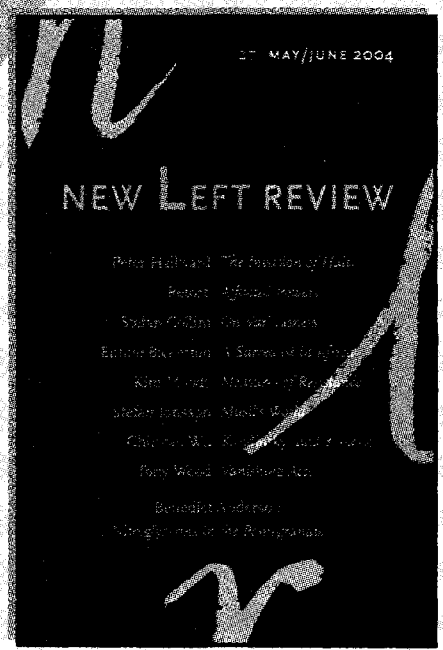
"The farmers here suffer from rashes and disease," says

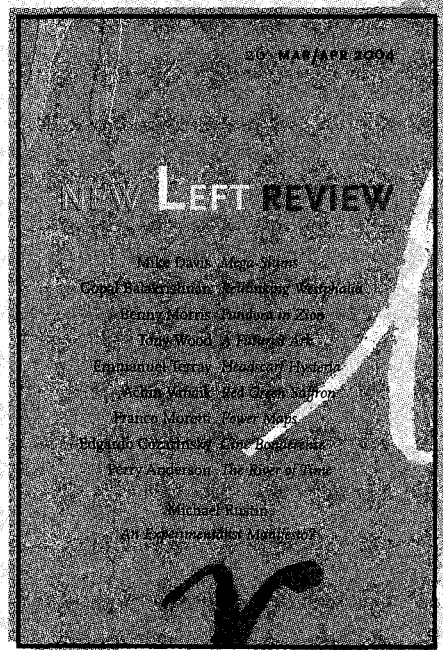
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the latest New Left Review

AT FIRST widely deplored as an over-reaching adventure, the American occupation of Iraq has become the basis of a new world consensus: the hegemon must not be allowed to fail. The first, elementary step against such acquiescence is solidarity with the struggle for national liberation in Iraq—**'Vichy on the Tigris', NLR 28**


28 JULY/AUG 2004
NEW LEFT REVIEW
Susan Watkins Vichy on the Tigris
Benedict Anderson Anarchists, Nihilists, Filibusters
Franco Moretti Force and Form
Arif Dirlik China's Critical Intelligentsia
Jacob Stevens Framing the Manifesto
Çağlar Keyder Trasformismo in Turkey?
Rachel Malik Literature of the Proletariat
Hou Hsiao-Hsien, Chu Tien-hsin, Tang Nuo, Hsia Chu-joe
Tensions in Taiwan




MAR/APR 2004
NEW LEFT REVIEW
Mike Davis Alien Shores
Gopal Balakrishnan Reflections on Empire
Benny Morris Fundamentalist Zion
Tony Wood A Tolerant Age
Emmanuel Terray Maoism: A Global History
Achin Vanaik Red Green Saffron
Franco Moretti Atlas of the European Novel
Elizabeth Grosz Space, Time and Bodies
Perry Anderson The Ruler's Two Bodies
Michael Rustin An Experimentalist Modernism

Also in **NLR 28**: **Benedict Anderson**: imperial power, anarchist bombings and anti-colonial insurrection in a new political reading of José Rizal's astonishing 19th-century novel. Film director **Hou Hsiao-Hsien** and other Taiwanese artists, activists and intellectuals discuss the island's fraught political culture. **Çağlar Keyder** on Turkey's development, and the social pressures building within NATO's Middle East bridgehead.

From **NLR 26 and 27**: **Mike Davis**, 'Planet of Slums': a future history of the Third World's post-industrial megacities. **Peter Hallward** on the invasion of Haiti: Franco-American harmony and unanimous UNSC blessing for the overthrow of a constitutional government. '**Retort**' on state power and spectacular warfare after September 11. **Perry Anderson** replies to **Fredric Jameson**'s 'Politics of Utopia': conditions for the renewal of utopian energies.

Subscribe now—just $52 for one year—and choose a free book:

❑ Tariq Ali, *Bush in Babylon* ❑ Edward Said, *Freud and the Non-European* ❑ Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity*

Name Address

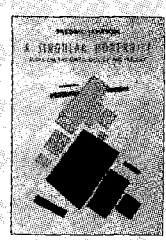
Zip Email

Cheques payable to New Left Review or Credit Card type: _____ Expiry date M M / Y Y

No: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (Amex, Access, Visa, Mastercard accepted)

Credit card hotline: +44 20 7434 1210; fax: +44 20 7439 3869; email: subs@newleftreview.org

Please send this to: New Left Review c/o Verso, Suite 1002, 180 Varick Street, New York, NY 10014–4606



Read NLR articles and subscribe at www.newleftreview.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Salman. "To irrigate their fields they sometimes have to stand in this water up to their chests. Many children are sick with some kind of poisoning, and we all have stomach pains." He says the pollution contaminates the local wells and has brought swarms of insects, and because there is so little electricity it is hard to keep the bugs away from the children at night with electric fans. Medical care is meager at the local clinics; there are doctors but no medicine.

His tirade is cut short as a convoy of US tanks rolls by, towed on heavy-duty flatbed trucks. From the turrets, grim-looking soldiers behind .50-caliber machine guns watch the mud huts pass below them. Salman glares at the convoy with hate in his eyes. This is resistance country, and the local base gets mortared regularly. Each tank has a nickname stenciled on its cannon barrel: Fat Bastard, Controlled Rage, Crotch Rocket, Another Tank and Chubby Cowboy.

Farther downriver the situation is the same. In the village of Azhira a woman in a black *abaya* with blue tattoos on her chin explains how the village is dependent on the tanker trucks and cash for its water. Her husband says all the fish are dead and that the fishermen have no work. They get only three hours of electricity and then are cut off for up to five hours at a time. It is hard to keep food fresh, and the heat only makes it worse.

Outside the village I stop and talk with a squad of GIs whose armored Humvee is tucked beneath a stand of trees along a raised dirty road. Their mission is to guard a bridge over the Diyala and keep tabs on Azhira.

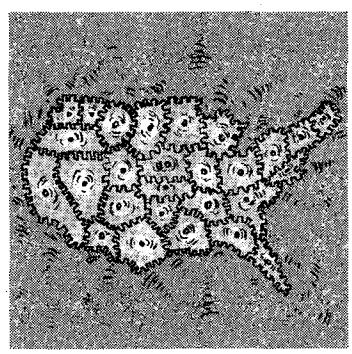
"Everything's pretty mellow," says one of the soldiers. His comrades read magazines in the Humvee or watch the surrounding trees and houses. "Sometimes they take potshots at us from over there." He points to the village. "But when you meet the people, they're not all bad." None of the GIs are aware of the water situation or the sewage problem or the real extent of the economic crisis around them. But they are not unsympathetic. "Living near a river of shit—that would definitely suck," says one of them. "No wonder these people are pissed." ■

PROGRESSIVES URGENTLY NEED A STRATEGY TO TAKE BACK THE STATES FROM THE GOP.

Devolve This!

JOEL ROGERS

In American politics, who controls the states controls the nation. The right understands this, and for a generation has waged an unrelenting war to take over state government in America. It has substantially succeeded, in large part because it hasn't faced any serious progressive countereffort. Despite the visibility of the right's advance, and the decades of devolution and economic decentralization that have made states hugely important sites of politics, progressives haven't made one.



KAREN CALDICOTT

To be sure, we progressives do all sorts of great organizing, service and advocacy work in the states. We regularly protest state government actions and try to move its members in one direction or another. We even help with a few campaigns for state office, albeit almost always after the candidates and their agendas have already been set by others. What we don't do is what the right has done—i.e., determinedly aim at taking over state government and running it ourselves. We haven't built an infrastructure for progressive state electoral politics and government. And so we can't, and don't, recruit and train thousands of progressives to run for state office, provide them with state-specific platforms to run on, help them in implementing those platforms once in office, and coordinate all this across states for mutual gain. So it should not surprise us that very few of the 7,382 state legislators in America even think of themselves as part of, and accountable to, a broad, ambitious, technically savvy and policy-smart progressive movement—since in the states, we're not one. As politics is conventionally understood—candidates, elections, identifiable policy agendas, the compulsory powers of public authority—progressives don't have a state political strategy.

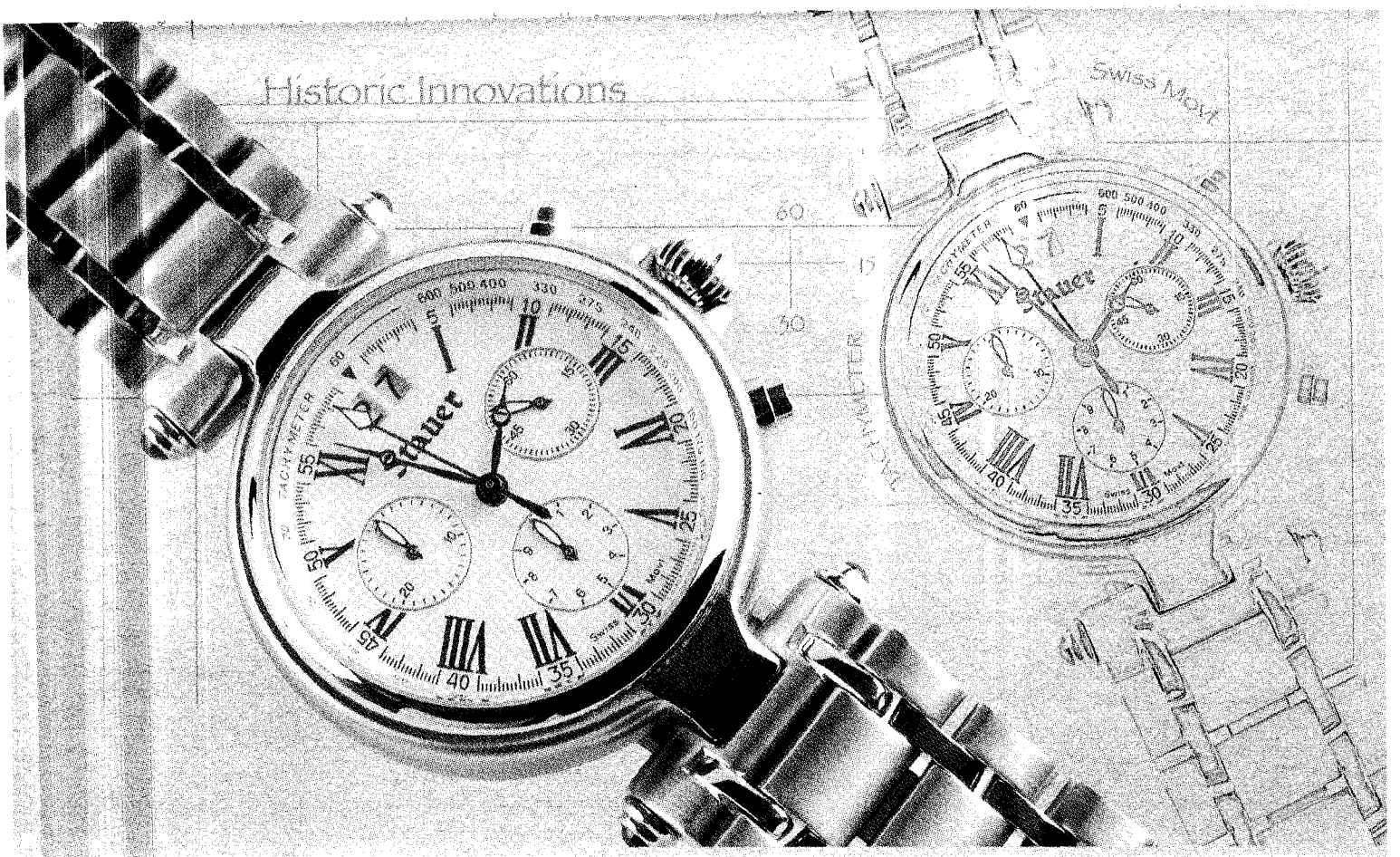
Progressive reluctance to develop such a strategy is in some ways understandable. Variation and competition among states has historically been the single most resilient barrier to democratic politics in America. The very idea of a progressive state strategy—as opposed to a determined focus on a more democratic national government able to surmount that barrier—has long seemed oxymoronic, or merely moronic. It's also true that state politics is less compelling than other politics, if not downright boring. This is especially so today, with the nation at war and facing from its national government the greatest internal threat to our democracy in our history, but the observation holds in safer times. Most progressives also mourn devolution, which has been coterminous with if not defined by the dismantling of the New Deal welfare state, twentieth-century American liberalism's greatest domestic achievement. Understandable, then, that we are in a sort of collective denial that "the era of big government is over."

But whatever the reasons for our neglecting the states, good and bad, we need to get over them. We need a progressive strategy in the states, because not having one is now doing us two sorts of grievous harm.

The first is that we're getting killed there politically, with results we are likely to feel for years to come. For the first time in a

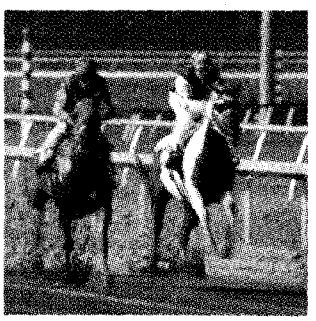
Joel Rogers, a Nation *contributing editor, teaches at the University of Wisconsin. A version of this article appeared in* Taking Back America *(edited by Katrina vanden Heuvel and Robert L. Borosage).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Antique Hunt Discovers the First Watch to Split the Second

A tenth of a second can be worth millions. In the Greek games, in auto racing and certainly in horse racing, winning and losing millions can be measured in less than a blink of an eye. That idea led the little known watchmaker, Fritz Moeri to build what we believe is the first wristwatch to have start and stop split second accuracy in 1910. In a small factory in St. Imier Switzerland, Moeri miniaturized a start/stop movement so it could fit on the wrist. The horse-racing boom in America in the early 1900's created a need for extremely accurate chronographs. Bookies and trainers were desperate for accurate timing devices because purses were soaring with horses like Man O' War creating huge betting pools. With a Swiss movement accurate to 1/10th of a second and a vintage dial design from 1910, Stauer remembers this great invention with the Stauer *Moeri*.



How the bookies and odds makers led to the invention that split the second.

A vintage watch built for today's collector. Along with the antiqued ivory face and the grand date function, the *Moeri* has an exquisite 6-hand movement. Interior dials show 1/10th of a second, one-second and one-minute timing. The two-button chronograph has a simple stop/start feature and a zero reset function. An extra large *Grand Date* displays an oversized day of the month at the 12 point.

The band is brushed steel and built with a butterfly clasp for a comfortable fit that doesn't pinch. And the Swiss jeweled quartz movement carries a 3-year warranty. You could easily spend over $1000 on a split second chronograph with a Swiss movement but the *Moeri* is priced to wear everyday. We don't believe that anyone builds a finer timepiece at a finer price.

Find an original Moeri for our collection. We, at Stauer, are dealers in rare collectibles, fine watches, and gold and silver coins. We cannot find an original Moeri to add to our collection. If you own one or can find one in good condition, we will pay $30,000 for this rare antique. If you would prefer to wear today's *Moeri*, we offer a no risk 30-day guarantee on this fine timepiece. Wear the vintage *Moeri* and if you are not thrilled with the accuracy and design, send it back for a full refund.

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

The Moeri
Four Payments of $49.50 + S&H

800-859-1626

Promotional Code SSQ106-01
Please mention this when you call.
To order by mail, please call for details.

Stauer

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. SSQ106-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-859-1626**

Visit us online at www.Stauer.com for the complete line of Stauer Watches, Jewelry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Global Fights Go Local

Missouri Governor Bob Holden learned how volatile globalization issues have become when his Democratic primary challenger, Claire McCaskill, started banging away on him for offshoring the state's call center for food stamp and welfare recipients to India. Holden, a labor-friendly Democrat, moved to get the jobs back home. But McCaskill, the state auditor, who made opposition to offshoring of state jobs a central theme of her "Blueprint for Economic Change" campaign, beat Holden in the August 3 vote—becoming the first challenger to defeat an incumbent governor in a primary in a decade.

The Missouri race provided the latest indication that the debate over trade and economic globalization issues is shifting to the states, as are debates on many issues once thought to be the exclusive province of federal officials. While Congress remains the primary battleground in fights over free-trade agreements and tax policies that benefit the "Benedict Arnold" corporations that John Kerry condemned for transferring jobs to countries with low wages and lax environmental regulations, state officials are often the first to feel the heat when factories close and service jobs are outsourced. Pennsylvania Governor Ed Rendell, noting that his state has suffered job losses in manufacturing for forty-four consecutive months, says he can't live up to his promise to bring prosperity and stability "without taking action to ensure that Pennsylvanians have a fair shot at remaining employed and that companies based in our state can compete in an increasingly unfair international trade system."

Rendell and Iowa Governor Tom Vilsack have emerged as key players in a revolt against federal trade policies that would deny state and local governments the authority to give preferences in contract awards to firms that create jobs where the tax dollars that pay for those contracts are collected. As recently as the late 1990s, governors tended to be advocates for trade agreements, based on their faith in promises that those deals would create new markets. But they and state legislators have become increasingly concerned about job losses. Under pressure from unions, more than three dozen states have begun exploring legislative remedies that prevent offshoring of state jobs and give preferences to firms that create jobs at home, employ union workers or pay a living wage. Environmental groups have, as well, begun pushing with some success for procurement policies that seek products with recycled content, that promote alternative energy and that require the purchase of fuel-efficient vehicles. And they have grown increasingly savvy about the need to defend these initiatives from attempts by the federal government to barter away state sovereignty.

The sovereignty fights are part of a new pattern of state activism. After accusing the federal Securities and Exchange Commission of failing to respond adequately, New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer has taken the lead in fighting mutual-fund trading abuses. A dozen states sued the federal government last year after the Bush Administration eased environmental regulations on coal-burning power plants, and many of the same states are suing five of America's largest energy utilities to force them to cap and then reduce carbon dioxide emissions. California officials are trying to force automakers to build cars that meet higher emissions standards than are required by the Feds. Maine Governor John Baldacci recently signed into law a plan to provide health insurance to all state residents within five years. Governors in the upper Midwest, led by Illinois's Rod Blagojevich, have sought to lower healthcare costs by importing cheaper prescription drugs from Canada. "If you leave it to the President and Congress, history tells us, nothing will change," argues Blagojevich, who served in Congress before his election as governor in 2002.

While conservatives such as Michael Greve, who directs the federalism project of the American Enterprise Institute, grumble that "states are trying to pre-empt Congress on national issues," Bernie Horn, policy director for the Washington-based Center for Policy Alternatives (CPA), says, "States are now the vanguard of the progressive movement. In Congress, progressives can only stand in the way of the conservative avalanche. But in states, we're getting things done."

These state interventions have the White House fuming. Bush aides are particularly worried about state action on trade issues. In an effort to reassert federal authority, the Administration's pointman on trade issues, Trade Representative Robert Zoellick, last year asked governors to make a "voluntary" commitment binding their states to comply with the government purchasing provisions of all new trade agreements, including the pending Central American Free Trade Agreement. A majority of governors signed on. But then a loose coalition of groups, including the AFL-CIO, the National Caucus of Environmental Legislators, the Citizens Trade Campaign and Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch, began lobbying governors to withdraw the support of their states for a deal that, in the words of Global Trade Watch director Lori Wallach, would cause governors and legislators to "lose all of their authority to set the terms on what they buy and who they do business with." Iowa's Vilsack was one of the first to exit, after dispatching a letter to Zoellick in which he argued, "Iowa must have maximum flexibility to use our state tax dollars to create good jobs and meet other important social needs in our state." Democratic and GOP governors in Pennsylvania, Missouri, Maine, Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas joined Iowa. Only four Democratic governors have kept their states signed on to CAFTA, along with seventeen Republican governors. And legislators—many of them sponsors of anti-offshoring legislation—are still pushing those governors to drop off, according to Sara Johnson, the state and local outreach coordinator for Global Trade Watch.

Zoellick's office is fighting to keep the remaining states signed on to CAFTA, arguing that now that President Bush has signed the agreement, any withdrawals would upset the global trade regimen. But Johnson says labor groups and legislators will keep the pressure on through the Congressional vote on CAFTA, probably in a lame-duck session after the November election. That could make trade an issue not just in federal election contests this fall but also in at least some states. "There's a new constituency getting involved in these trade issues—governors, legislators, local officials," says Johnson. "That's changing the whole dynamic of the debate over trade and offshoring. It's not just a federal fight anymore. Officials in the states are starting to realize they have to get involved because it's their ability to protect jobs and the environment that is really at stake."

JOHN NICHOLS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

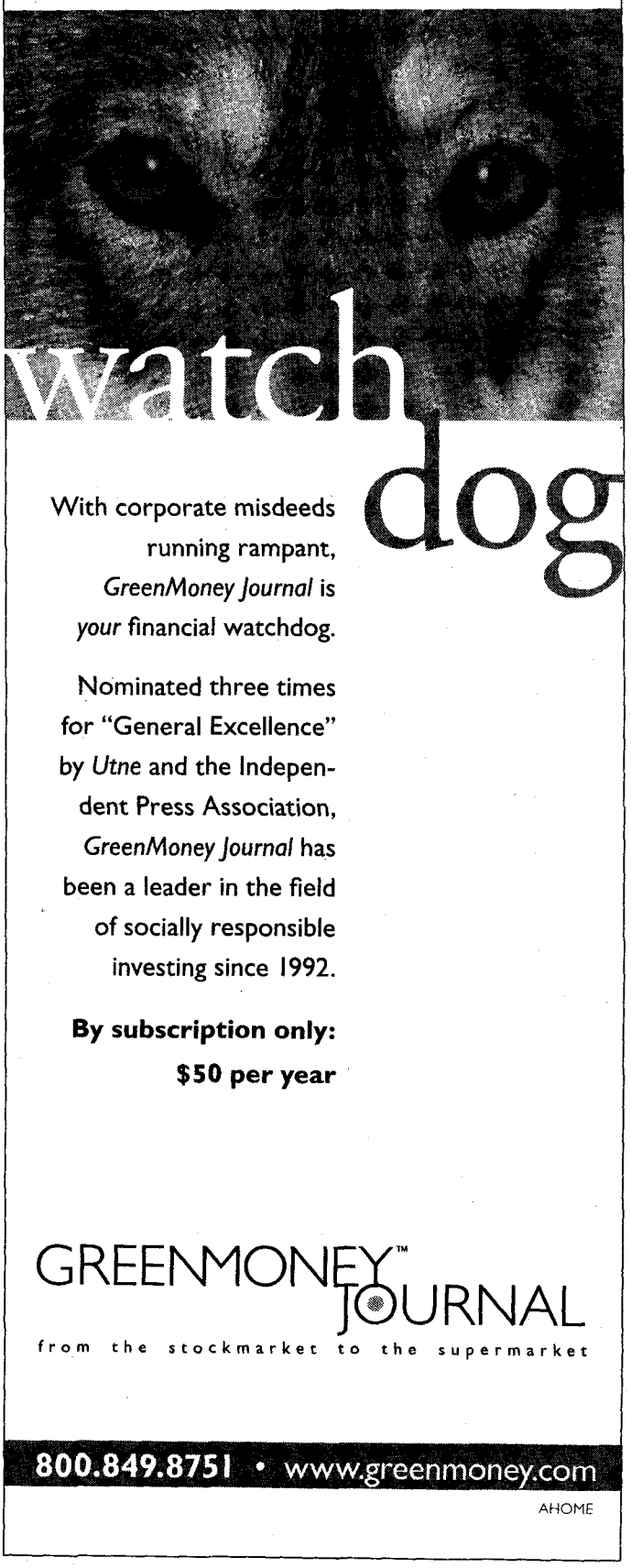
generation, a rightist GOP has recently gained the edge in total governors, legislative chambers, controlled legislatures and legislative seats. And in states no less than nationally, the right is clearer on its ends than are the Democrats, and infinitely more aggressive in casting even modest electoral victories in policy cement.

The second is that we're missing an enormous political opportunity in the states, which today are the most natural sites of progressive growth. States wield control over many ingredients of a well-run economy and polity—from human capital to transportation to campaign finance and election rules—and they have relatively porous political systems that we could in fact organize. In at least some states, we already have close to the organizational density (e.g., among unions, community groups, service and advocacy organizations of different kinds) and diffuse public support to do this relatively quickly—if we aimed at this goal in a deliberate and coordinated way. With real government power in the states, progressives could demonstrate that our ideas actually work—that a government run in our way is more efficient and accountable, that a "high road" economy of the sort we favor delivers higher living standards, that social service and insurance systems financed our way are cheaper, with deeper coverage. We could in effect take a page from the original Progressives of a century ago—the folks who worked out at the state level many of the ideas that later informed the New Deal and who, before it became a cliché, gave real meaning to the idea of states as "laboratories of democracy." We could try new things, test their effects, compare them across states and surface the best new ideas into national debate.

Some of this policy experiment, of course, is already happening. States are generating far more progressive legislation—in areas from campaign finance to consumer protection, predatory lending to land-use control, school finance reform to inclusionary zoning, worker training and economic development, and of course civil rights—than we've seen from recent national administrations, Democratic and Republican alike. This work should be honored as well as built upon in any more general progressive effort. But—and the most seasoned state activists and progressive elected officials are among the first to point this out—it still falls well short of the scale and scope that is possible, and probably required, for lasting effect. In no state are there functional majorities of self-consciously progressive elected officials, working together off a visible, coherent program of progressive economic, social and political reform, linked systematically to outside progressive forces. That is what the right is building on its side, and what we need to build on ours.

Do States Really Matter?

But are states really so important, and so ripe with possibility for progressive invention? Yes, almost self-evidently so, if we just open our eyes. Our national constitutional design enumerates limited powers for national government and assumes plenary powers of states. That means states—consistent with respect for individual rights, and respecting the supremacy of any contrary federal law—can pretty much do whatever they please. Around this design two centuries of accumulated political custom have grown up, giving states a privileged role in implementing and enforcing much federal law.


watch
dog
With corporate misdeeds running rampant, GreenMoney Journal is your financial watchdog.
Nominated three times for "General Excellence" by Utne and the Independent Press Association, GreenMoney Journal has been a leader in the field of socially responsible investing since 1992.
By subscription only:
$50 per year
GREENMONEY™ JOURNAL
from the stockmarket to the supermarket
800.849.8751 • www.greenmoney.com
AHOME

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The result is that states do by far the largest share of governing in America. They write most law and give content to even more through interpretation and administration. Most government that affects us in our everyday social roles—as workers, consumers, taxpayers, owners and citizens—tends first or finally to run through states. Economic development, healthcare and abortion access, privacy rights, marriage and the family, wage standards, public safety, criminal justice, prisons, air and water quality, education and training, consumer protection, transportation, libraries and other community public goods—these are just a few examples. In many of these critical areas, in fact, states shoulder primary responsibility.

Devolution has given states additional powers and responsibilities. Over the past two decades, successive waves of "new federalism" have "block-granted" money for states with few if any federal restrictions on its use. New national programs in education and training, housing, transportation and economic development have been federalized from the start. And older ones, as in the environment, have become increasingly state-led. All this has increased their standing relative to national government.

Government spending numbers tell this story. In the 1950s the federal and state/local government shares of GDP were roughly equivalent. Now states are far bigger in most ordinary government operations. Entering the new millennium, the federal government was basically a gigantic military operation, a couple of large insurance programs for old people, and a privileged manager of money, credit and debt. By 2000—outside military spending, transfer payments and debt service—its operation claimed only 2 percent of GDP. States, in contrast, claimed 10 percent. And this was before Bush & Co. took a further wrecking ball to what was left of the nonmilitary nation-state, and Grover Norquist declared his dream of shrinking it to bathtub size.

Building capacity in the states is a long-term project, requiring substantial amounts of money spent over several electoral cycles.

States are also arbiters of the most fundamental transaction in democratic politics: the electoral transfer of power. States control elections, all elections, more or less from top to bottom. It is state legislatures, not the Constitution, that give us our "winner takes all" election system and its resulting two-party duopoly. It is states that determine the boundaries of all election districts, including Congressional ones, which largely determine which party's representative will occupy them. It is states that, through their regulation of poll access, voter eligibility, election schedules, voting times, methods of vote counting and much else, make the final determination of the active and counted electorate. And it is state electorates, never some elusive national one, that decide all US elections. This of course includes the election of the President, who is (usually) chosen by an Electoral College, composed of delegations of state electors. But even here state legislatures have a further role, since they determine whether or not those delegations will be proportional to the popular vote. Control of state government thus allows control of the size and shape of the electorate, the parties competing for its vote and the accuracy of that vote's representation in both national government and at home.

So far as democratic fundamentals go, it's hard to get more basic than this. And even for those who care only about national politics, this gives a clear reason to care about state ones, for these decisions matter in the construction of national government. As Texas's Tom DeLay has recently shown us (joined by less publicized Republican colleagues in Florida, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania), legislative redistricting gives states effective power over the Congress. As we learned in Florida in 2000, and may learn again in a few weeks' time, state-controlled voting procedures can even choose the President.

The Tipping Point

About thirty years ago, the Republican right decided to take over the states. In a state version of the story that is now familiar nationally, corporations and the cultural right made peace in order to wage this holy war, which was understood as a natural "cut the tree and catch the fruit" complement to national devolution. They invested heavily in GOP state organization, made more explicit and operational a variety of ties between national corporate interests and state parties, and built a slew of supporting institutions to funnel money to emerging state Republican leaders and spoonfeed them reactionary policy suggestions to promote.

They have substantially succeeded. In the 1970s, when this determined effort began, Democrats were in nearly full command of state government. Along with thirty-two governors, they held almost 70 percent of all state legislative seats and controlled thirty-seven legislatures in 1974.

Thirty years later, the results are in. Republicans now have more governors (R28–D22), more legislative chambers (R53–D44), more controlled legislatures (R21–D17) and more partisan legislative seats (R3,684–D3,626). All bets are for this advantage to grow in coming years, as the South turns steadily more Republican and the national GOP continues to target vulnerable Democratic governors (next up are those in Missouri, Washington and West Virginia).

What Republicans are doing with these small majorities is broadly familiar. Along with the redistricting scams already mentioned, they are constitutionalizing restrictions on state spending, cutting social services of all kinds, acting hostile to labor, privatizing an ever wider range of state functions, pushing punitive criminal justice, rolling back privacy rights to the benefit of banks and insurance companies, avoiding the health insurance crisis, limiting medical and product liability, freezing state minimum wages, limiting consumer protections, cutting funding to public schools, dolloping out ever more expansive tax breaks to business and playing the red meat game (gay marriage, concealed weapons, etc.). No surprises here. And so, if Republican leadership continues to gain in the states, we can expect more of the same. States will become more perfect pictures of inequality, market governance and business cronyism. We'll all look a little more like Texas, and a little less like the America we remember, or hope someday to live in. This is the threat in the states. It is real, and growing.

But now let's complicate this picture.

First, and again, progressives are winning many policy victories in the states. This work is too extensive and varied to be easily summarized. It includes "clean money" campaign finance re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. GOV'T GOLD
REAGAN'S GREATEST LEGACY

Thank you President Reagan for the most beautiful Gold coins ever minted, the Gold American Eagles.

REAGAN INSPIRED GOLD COINS FINAL RELEASE

The United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve extends it condolences and gratitude to the Reagan family. President Reagan accomplished countless wonderful things for our nation. Among the finest, was the passing of Public Law 99-185 which allowed all Americans to own gold coins minted in the United States by the U.S. Mint. In honor of President Reagan's outstanding presidency, the United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve Vault Facilities announces the final release of 5,000 2003 U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins previously held in The West Point Depository/U.S. Mint. For the first time in history, U.S. citizens will be able to buy 2003 Gov't Issued $5 Gold Coins at an incredible mark-up free price of only $44.00 each, $20 less than the nationally advertised price. A limit of ten U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Orders that are not immediately received or reserved with the order center could be subject to cancellation and your checks returned un-cashed. Good luck. We hope that everyone will have a chance to purchase this special U.S. Gov't Issued Gold at cost. Order immediately to avoid disappointment. 2004 coins will be shipped if oversold. Call Toll-Free 1-800-867-6101.

GOLD MARKET EXPLODES

Times were different when President Reagan was in the White House. Today the war on terrorism and the escalating violence in Iraq are daily news events. Add to the equation over 8,000,000 (8 million) unemployed Americans, rampant corporate fraud, out of control government spending, the inability to balance the budget and you have an insurmountable debt that tops $7 Trillion and continues to grow each and every minute. President Reagan understood the need to protect the American public. One of his strategies was to make it easy for everyone to own Gold. This vision was absolutely correct. The Gold Market has outperformed the S&P 500 for the past five years. In addition, the performance of CD's and savings accounts can't even come close to the gains that Gold has made. This is why now is the time to move paper assets into Gold. It is crucial that individuals move now because as soon as tomorrow, Gold could start it's predicted steep rise from $390 to $1,500 per ounce.

GOLD IS BETTER THAN MONEY IN THE BANK

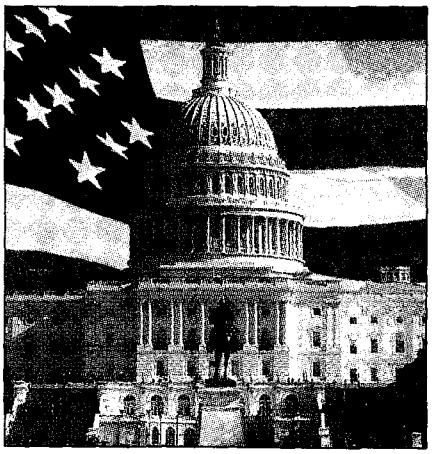
If you had $50,000 in the bank and you transferred it into gold at today's prices, you would now have an opportunity to gain as much as 5 times its value. That's right, a quarter of a million dollars. On the other hand, if you leave that same $50,000 in the bank for 10 years, chances are, it's only going to be worth the same $50,000. Unfortunate...but true. You must understand that when you convert money to gold, you haven't spent your money, but have transferred its value from a declining paper currency, to a precious metal that is rising in both market and numismatic value. Owning Gold offers protection for your money. Don't wait. Your $50,000 could be worth $250,000 some day.

AUTHORIZED BY PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

PUBLIC LAW 99-185 99 STAT. 1179

OFFICIAL GOV'T ISSUED $5 GOLD COINS

By executive order of Ronald Reagan and Congress Public Law 99-185, Americans can now buy new Government Issued gold. Where once restricted as a nation, Ronald Reagan opened the doors for everyone to purchase Gold and create security within their family's savings. Today's volatile economic environment is breeding uncertainty world-wide. This is why it is very important for all Americans to own Gold. Ronald Reagan understood this and fought to leave a legacy of Gold to protect the citizens of this great nation he loved so much. The Gold American Eagles' design features a moving tribute to the unity of the American family. Thank you Ronald Reagan, one of the greatest presidents of all time, for the Gold American Eagle program. You will always be remembered.



U.S. CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
Home of the American Gold Eagle Coin Program, passed into law in 1985.

CALL NOW

THEY WILL NOT LAST LONG

TOLL FREE

1-800-867-6101

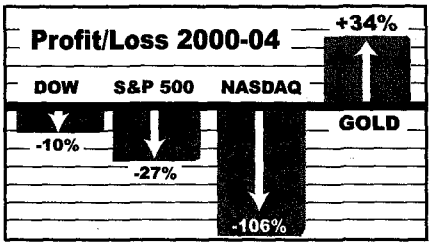
24 Hours a Day, 7 Days a Week

VAULT NO. TH2GFC

UNITED STATES
RARE COIN & BULLION RESERVE

Distributor of Government Issued Gold & Silver. Not Affiliated With the U.S. Government.

GOLD OUTPACES THE DOW, NASDAQ AND S&P 500



Trusting your financial future to the stock market's performance has been a bad situation for the past 5 years. In fact, the above graph clearly shows that not only the DOW, but the S&P 500 and NASDAQ are all down from January 2000. Gold, on the other hand, is up 34% since January 2000. If you had purchased $50,000 worth of Gold in January 2000, that same gold would be worth $67,000 today - a profit of $17,000. Most stocks cannot even come close to that gain. The Gold Market is on the move and is showing signs of taking off like a rocket. Many experts can offer excellent insight into the future price trends of Gold, but no one, including The United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve, can guarantee a Gold Coin's future value will go up or down. Do not wait to move your hard earned money out of stocks and into Gold.

WHY TO BUY GOLD NOW

- **Gold has outperformed the Stock Market for the past 5 years in a row.**
- **Smart individuals are moving 20-30% of their assets into U.S. Gov't Gold Coins.**
- **$50,000 in U.S. Gov't Gold Coins could be worth up to $250,000 in the future.**
- **With the National Debt at $7 Trillion and rising, Gold has an upside potential that has not been seen since the 1980's.**
- **A limit of 10 U.S Gov't Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Offer may be withdrawn at any time.**
- **Special arrangements can be made for Gold orders over $50,000.**

MASTER CARD • VISA • AMEX
DISCOVER • CHECK

BEGINNING TODAY, TELEPHONE ORDERS WILL BE ACCEPTED ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVE BASIS ACCORDING TO TIME AND DATE OF THE ORDER!

Minimum Order 5 Gold Coins

1 – 2003 Gov't Issue Gold Coin	$ 44.00
5 – 2003 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$ 220.00
10 – 2003 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$ 440.00

SPECIAL AT COST OFFER LIMITED TO PURCHASES OF $440.00 OR LESS PLUS SHIPPING AND INSURANCE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

form, disclosure and clawback rules on corporate subsidies, smart-growth development policies, myriad healthcare reforms, expanded transportation options, renewable-energy initiatives, living-wage and minimum-wage hikes, inclusionary housing, expansions in civil rights, alternatives to incarceration, and a nearly endless stream of air- and water-quality initiatives, including many directed against our current government in Washington. If nothing else, this shows public openness to progressive alternatives, if they are put before it.

Second, there are contrary trends to Republican electoral dominance, or at least, in its spreading darkness, some points of light. While in 2002 Republicans edged past Democrats in partisan legislative seats for the first time in fifty years, moderate to progressive Democrats won governorships in a number of states (Blagojevich in Illinois, Doyle in Wisconsin, Granholm in Michigan, Napolitano in Arizona, Rendell in Pennsylvania, Richardson in New Mexico), many of which had been long occupied by Republicans. While in 2003 the overall Republican seat lead widened slightly, in New Jersey Democrats retook control of the state legislature, in a highly visible voter validation of Democratic Governor Jim McGreevey's strong environmental policies. Several governors have backed tax increases and survived. No great surprises here either, but grounds for rational hope at the voting booth.

Third, what most impresses about state politics right now is its competitiveness. The split in governors, chambers and legislative control are all close enough that a single election or two could easily swing the parties back to parity. If Kerry wins and has more than T-shirt-length coattails, that might happen very soon. The difference in partisan share of legislative seats, for example, is really razor thin: 0.9 percent—a number that might suggest competitiveness to anyone. In twenty-five (out of ninety-nine) legislative chambers, a shift of three or fewer states would change party control or result in a tie. Even a small improvement in progressive electoral organization could make a very large difference.

What It Takes

What would it take to take better advantage of progressive opportunities in the states, to build on present organizing while bringing it to greater coherence and scale, to stop the right and then build some lasting governing power of our own?

Essentially what's needed is a partial equivalent of what is already provided on the other side by the right, a shared capacity to win elections and govern. We need the capacity to continually map the election terrain within states, identify open and challengeable seats in local as well as state office, and develop credible long-range plans for targeting them to the point of gaining core legislative and executive power. We need a massively scaled-up capacity to recruit, train and place reliable progressives, ideally recruited from our own ranks, as candidates for those races. We need a clearinghouse on model legislation and administrative practice, and supports to elected officials prepared to move them (talking points, examples of success elsewhere, expert support, etc.). We need the capacity to regularly convene progressive elected officials, both regionally and nationally, for discussion of

PUT YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR MOUTH IS.
APPLY FOR THE NATION CREDIT CARD TODAY.

Demonstrate your support for America's oldest weekly magazine with the *Nation* Visa Card. Every purchase provides much-needed funding. For low interest, no annual fee and Visa Platinum services, apply today. APPLY NOW 1.877.817.4934

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

common problems, and training in the program content, organizing skills and strategic collaborations that might help solve them.

At those gatherings we should leave lots of room for networking by elected officials from different parts of the country, and interaction with non-electoral advocacy groups. We want them to begin to think of themselves as not alone, and to act more confidently and reliably as part of a broader progressive movement. We need to maintain that network through regular communication and explicit coordination of efforts across different sites. We need a well-equipped "war room" to provide targeted assistance to progressive electeds in legislative or electoral fights—onsite expert help, campaign coordination, polling, opposition research, whatever it takes to win. Finally, we would need some sort of "table," seated by interested and committed parties, to get coordination among these efforts, and connect them to progressive work aimed more directly at national politics.

Electoral plans, recruitment and training of candidates fitted to them, program, convenings, campaign and legislative support, a table to coordinate these efforts and connect them to other parts of the progressive movement—that's what we need. It's not rocket science. It's just work. And it need not even cost a huge amount of money. Billions of dollars will be spent this electoral cycle, a billion at least on the presidential race alone. Building the capacities just described would cost very little in comparison. Just $10 million a year would be enough to get it started in earnest.

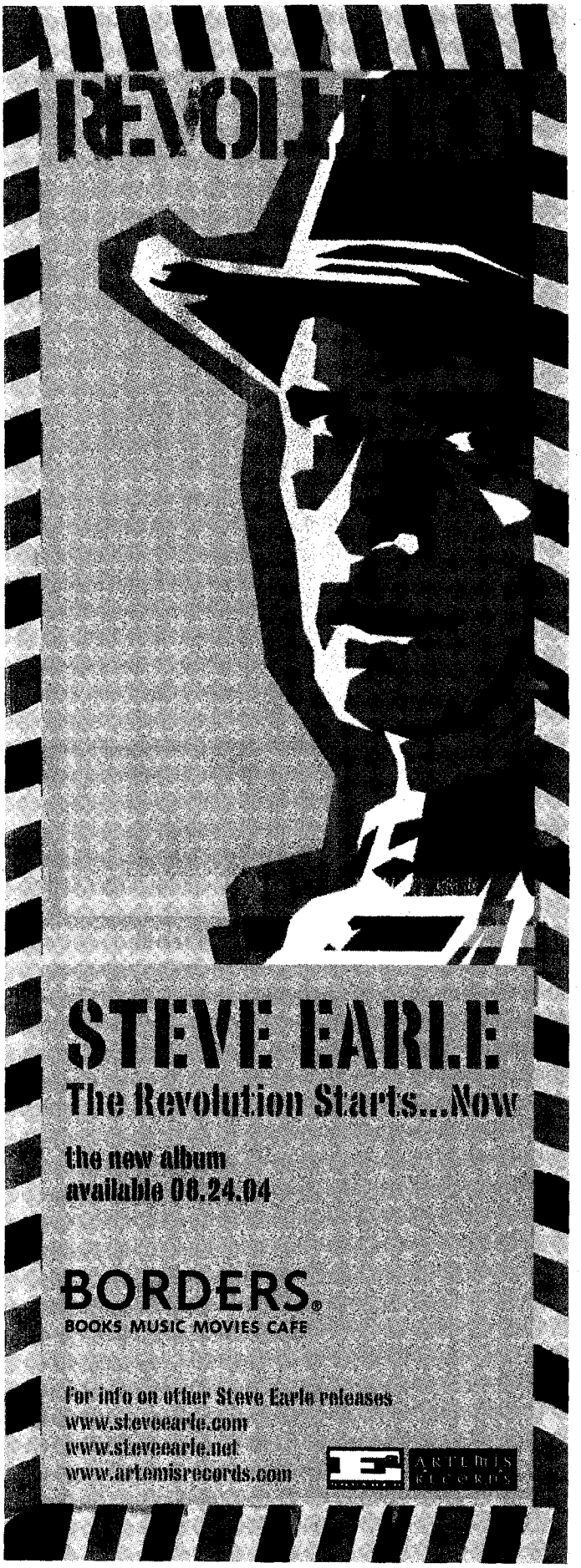
What We Have

The reason progressives could start a serious state effort so cheaply is that we already have many of the needed pieces. We've got scores of campaign operatives and political consultants. We've got community organizing and issue advocacy organizations in all states, with most of the significant ones tied into national organizations with real resources. We've got major international unions with longstanding interests in state politics. We've got progressive state federations of labor, and progressive central labor councils. We've got state policy shops nationally, and in most states themselves. We've got expert advocacy groups on virtually every issue you can imagine, and they are networked nationally. We've even got at least some networks of progressive elected officials, at both the national and regional levels.

What we haven't done yet is put these different parts of the puzzle together.

Of course, it's not unusual for progressives not to unite around common projects, for altogether too familiar reasons. One attractive aspect of the project proposed here, however, is that many of those don't seem to apply, or apply with much less force than is normal. Nobody's doing this, so the field is not occupied. Most foundations won't touch it, so it wouldn't immediately steal resources from other progressive activities. Nobody really disputes its importance (they just don't like to think about it). And there's not even much disagreement about the content of the state policies at which it would aim.

We want states to get on the "high road" of high-wage, low-waste, democratically accountable economic development, with firms competing on product quality, innovation and distinctness, and drawing on a wide range of productive public goods. We want to close off the "low road" alternative, in which firms compete



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chiefly on price, and wind up in an endless race-to-the-bottom on labor and environmental standards and the evasion of social responsibility. And we want to reinvent government our way—with a clean and more democratic process, and greater input from popular organizations outside the states—to make it more efficient and capable. Based on years of work, we even know what this "high road" looks like in its different parts—education and training, transportation and infrastructure, land use and energy, democratic reform and administration. We just need to connect the dots into a picture, and display that more hopeful future to the public.

We know this program would be popular. We know this not only because it is in the interests of a vast majority of voters—labor, most people of color, most women, high-roading business and the many residents of inner-ring suburbs, depressed rural communities and central cities who are getting killed by present low-roading policy—but because our own organizing experience over the past decade has shown repeatedly that, given a choice, this is the one the majority makes.

So if progressives have the talent to do this, and can find their way to agreement on what needs to get done, what's the problem?

The problem is that building capacity in the states is a long-term project, requiring substantial if not humongous amounts of money spent over several electoral cycles, to improve the fortunes of a large number of largely unknown down-ballot candidates and officeholders. Until very recently, most progressive people and organizations putting serious money into electoral work never considered spending on these terms. They spent on individual candidates, usually at much higher levels of office, in a single cycle, or in presidential years on the Democratic Party itself, with the party and lead candidate overseeing the "coordinated campaign" that glued the field organization together. After the election this field operation would be folded, only to be rebuilt in the next presidential campaign.

But now George W. Bush, combined with the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform, has changed that. The first has mobilized people, the second has barred the national coordinated campaign. So now we have unprecedented massive progressive electoral coordination, and money, operating outside the Democratic Party. Many of those doing this, moreover, want to continue playing together after the November election, maintaining and redeploying at least some good share of the capacity built up in the past several months—in staff, political intelligence, routines of cooperation, committed donors. Some even want to start the conversation about building a national political infrastructure to compete with the right. That means scaled, patient, performance-based investments, growing out of a shared and credible knowledge base of what's working, what's not and what's needed.

In that conversation, a progressive state strategy is a natural topic, and an easy argument to make for all the reasons summarized here: great opportunity, great threat, pretty clear on how to improve what we've got now. After retiring Bush, we progressives should be making that argument together. ■

Letter From Uganda

by Andrew Rice

On December 22, 2002, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni paid a ceremonial visit to a textile plant in Kampala, his country's capital city. That day, shoppers in faraway America were streaming down the aisles of malls and department stores in crazed search of last-minute Christmas gifts. But Museveni's mind was on supply, not demand. As dignitaries, including the US ambassador, looked on, the president loaded a cardboard box containing twelve pairs of seaweed- and stone-colored shorts onto a truck, dispatching them on a journey that was to end on the shelves of an American retail chain.

The clothes were part of the first shipment to roll off the assembly line of a new textile factory, which was set up to take advantage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, an American free-trade initiative. Few Americans have ever heard of the four-year-old law. But in Uganda, AGOA, as the initiative is commonly called, is a magic word, invoked by politicians and businessmen, diplomats and foreign-aid donors—and most of all by President Museveni. To hear Museveni tell it, AGOA is the first step toward breaking Africa's dependence on foreign aid and the beginning of an economic revival.

To America and other wealthy nations, which have grown tired of pumping billions in aid into Africa with little evident effect, Museveni is a godsend: an African leader who will tell them what they want to hear. Museveni's view that free trade promises a painless way to raise the continent from penury has won him admirers across the ideological spectrum and entree into rarefied circles. Most recently, he extolled the virtues of trade at the G-8 summit in Sea Island, Georgia. When President Bush signed a bill reauthorizing AGOA through 2015 in July, he praised Uganda's president. "This African leader," Bush said, "understands that...when nations respect their people, open their markets, expand freedom and opportunity to all their citizens, entire societies can be lifted out of poverty and despair."

A closer look at Uganda, however, reveals a reality more complicated than such blithe rhetoric. Two years after that first heady Christmas season, Museveni's countrymen are suffering from a serious case of buyers' remorse. The government-subsidized textile factory, built to be an exemplar for the rest of the nation, has instead suffered worker unrest, as politicians allege exploitation and government corruption. Museveni may still believe, as he once said, that AGOA is "the greatest act of fraternity towards

For two years, journalist Andrew Rice lived in Uganda as a fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Africa by the USA." But to many Ugandans, their country's experience has become an object lesson in the bruising realities of life in the global marketplace.

President Clinton first proposed the African Growth and Opportunity Act in his 1998 State of the Union address, arguing later that "trade and investment are the keys to African development." The bill was modest in what it promised—outside of textiles, many of the goods covered under it were already subject only to very small tariffs, or none at all—but there was still a tough fight to get it passed. Textile-state representatives and unions were bitterly opposed. Some predicted the law would only benefit sweatshop owners. Illinois Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. invoked a comparison to the slave trade in opposing the bill.

African leaders like Museveni, however, saw the law as empowering, not enslaving. Museveni thought AGOA would act as a catalyst to rebuild Uganda's once-thriving textile industry, which had withered away during decades of dictatorship and civil war.

There was a problem, though. Textile entrepreneurs weren't beating down the doors. Uganda is a landlocked country with a reputation for political instability. Its eastern neighbor, Kenya, had ports, and it already possessed a decent-sized textile industry. So did the island nation of Mauritius. Southern Africa had better infrastructure.

The Tri-Star factory was supposed to be a symbol of Uganda's future; instead, it became a parable of the hazards of high expectations.

Museveni was desperate to find someone, *anyone*, willing to invest in his vision of a textile-exporting Uganda. Enter a Sri Lankan businessman named Veluppillai Kananathan, a longtime Kampala resident with a reputation as a wheeler-dealer. (He was once tried and acquitted of fraud charges, and associates say he used to pass himself off to potential business partners as the Sri Lankan ambassador, allegations Kananathan calls "totally wrong.") Kananathan partnered with a Sri Lankan textile magnate and met with Museveni in 2002 to hammer out a deal. The government would renovate an old coffee market, turning it into a textile plant, which the investors would run. If all went well with the pilot project, the Sri Lankans said, they would open many such plants across the country. They predicted the deal would create 300,000 jobs within two years.

The way Museveni saw it, the factory would be a great piece of public relations. Potential foreign investors could see Ugandans churning out shirts and shorts. So could foreign journalists. (Indeed, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* would both run front-page features about the plant.) Seeing young people happily at work, the public would realize that free trade promised tangible benefits.

To underscore the latter point, Museveni came up with the idea of recruiting 1,000 young women to work at the plant. Recruiters fanned out across the country, traveling from village to village to woo the women with promises of high-paying jobs "in trade" in the capital.

One of the perversities of Uganda's poverty is that it is felt most keenly by educated people. There are many more diplomas than jobs. So ambitious young women clamored for spots in the program. "We wanted to rise up from the levels where we were, and become somebody, do something," said Doreen Abalo, 21, one of the recruits. The newspapers played the story of the "AGOA Girls" as a heartwarming rags-to-riches tale: Pygmalion in a textile factory.

When clothes started rolling off the assembly line in late 2002, Museveni's vision seemed fulfilled. Later, a BBC radio reporter asked the president what his thoughts were as he saw off the clothes shipment. "This is the biggest event after independence," the president replied. "That's how I felt."

By Ugandan standards, workers at Kananathan's plant, Tri-Star Apparel, were well-off. They lived rent-free in a dormitory. They had free meals, too. But almost from the beginning, there was grumbling. When the plant opened, workers were told their salaries would be around $40 a month—not atrocious by Ugandan standards, but certainly not what the celebrity AGOA Girls expected. After all, Museveni *himself* had summoned them, had even called them his "daughters." The workers staged a sick-out to protest their pay. That spurred a visit by a presidential adviser, who gave them a tongue-lashing, pointing out that $40 a month was about the same as a housekeeper's salary. The young women, some of whom held university degrees, were not amused by the comparison. Even more insulting, Museveni had made it clear that he didn't want any of his "daughters" to be distracted by boyfriends. So the workers were not allowed off the factory grounds, which were surrounded by a high concrete wall topped by barbed wire.

According to the employees, as business picked up at the factory, working conditions deteriorated. When there was a big order to fill, they were forced to work eighteen hours or more a day. Sri Lankan matrons ruled the factory floor like homeroom teachers. If a worker had to go to the bathroom, she had to get a pass. If she was sick, she had to get the overseer's permission to leave. The workers claimed that the managers locked the factory's fire escapes to keep them from slipping out. Some of the managers were abusive.

After a series of covert meetings, a delegation went to the factory's managers, saying the workers wanted to form a union. Ugandan law recognizes the right of workers to organize, at least in theory, so Kananathan said he would negotiate.

But last October there was an incident. Accounts of what happened are fuzzy, but it seems that one of the Sri Lankan managers badly beat one of the workers. The next day, the AGOA Girls went on strike, barricading themselves in their dormitory. Riot police showed up. The police promised that management would negotiate, so the strikers opened the doors. Instead, Kananathan fired the union organizers. The police moved in again to make sure there was no more trouble.

Later, Museveni would say that he himself ordered the firings. "I sacked those girls because of indiscipline," a local newspaper quoted him as saying. "Their action would have scared off investors who had plans of setting up businesses here."

But if the strike started off as a garden-variety labor dispute, it quickly evolved into something more. Afterward the newspapers dug into the plant's finances and discovered that the government

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had invested millions of dollars in the plant. That set off a parliamentary investigation.

"Over and over again we see companies singled out and favored," Bright Rwamirama, the chairman of Parliament's finance committee, told me. In mid-April, when we met, Rwamirama was finishing a report on his investigation. It promised to be scathing. Subsequent investigation by *The Monitor*, an independent daily newspaper, found that the government put more than $11 million into the project, in the form of subsidies, loan guarantees and other goodies. Under questioning, Kananathan admitted he wasn't making the payments on his government-backed loans—suggesting that business was not booming at the factory. And he disclosed that his investment had amounted only to "technical expertise." "We didn't bring [in] cash at all," he told the committee.

Ugandan government officials say that, whatever public relations damage the strike did, AGOA has been good to Uganda. Exports to America amounted to almost $35 million last year, more than double the amount in 2002. Textiles alone accounted for more than $1.5 million of the increase.

"Before the AGOA dispensation, social and economic transformation was a remote possibility: if we struck oil," said Geoffrey Onegi-Obel, a senior presidential adviser on AGOA and trade. "What the AGOA dispensation has done is basically tell us, 'Look guys, you've been complaining and whining all these years. Now we dare you to transform your economy. We dare you to produce world-class products, and we will buy them.' What was a remote possibility [AGOA] has made [into] a distinct possibility."

The key word, of course, is "possibility." For Uganda, the benefits about AGOA have never been strictly about realities, but also about perceptions—intangibles like self-confidence and entrepreneurial spirit. The Tri-Star factory was supposed to be a symbol of Uganda's free-trading future. The irony is that Museveni's pet project ended up becoming something else: a parable of the hazards of high expectations.

There is no way to hide the fact that AGOA is unlikely to deliver the benefits Museveni preaches. In 2003 sub-Saharan African countries exported $14 billion worth of goods to America under AGOA. But one product accounted for 80 percent of that total: oil. Only a handful of West African countries possess oil. For the rest of the continent, the benefits are much less immediate. A UN report published last year suggests that for most products, AGOA offers "only a slight improvement over the status quo." Textiles are the exception. But in 2005, American quotas and tariffs on textiles are due to be totally eliminated under World Trade Organization rules. After that, African textile imports will lose any comparative advantage over those from China or anywhere else.

Nevertheless, at the Tri-Star Apparel factory, workers continue to churn out clothes, to be sold by American chains like Target and J.C. Penney. Since the strike, the union organizing effort has foundered. Recently, an official from the American Center for International Labor Solidarity, which is funded by the AFL-CIO, visited to offer pointers and support to the local textile workers' union. But Museveni's vehement opposition—the president recently said those who encouraged strikers were "worse than [Joseph] Kony," a sadistic rebel leader—means skepticism is warranted.

One thing is certain: Plenty of Ugandans are willing to stitch shirts for less than $2 a day. After the strike, hundreds thronged outside the gates of the Tri-Star factory, hoping to take the place of the 300 fired union agitators. Job seekers continued to gather there for months afterward. One afternoon when I visited the factory, I passed a group of young men and women sitting on sheets of cardboard in the hot sun just outside the plant's high concrete wall.

A shabbily dressed man named Ofwono Silver introduced himself. Silver, 23, said he was desperate for work. He had been waiting since morning, vainly hoping that someone from the factory would let them inside.

"I want to sew," he said. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

The result is a tacit endorsement of Huntington's perspective that Mexicans and other Latinos come to this country with cultures and under circumstances that pose a serious threat to the future—and security—of the United States. The role of American society, by its treatment of Latinos and other people of color, in undermining itself is not even mentioned. Huntington's most recent contribution to American cultural and political paranoia should be more roundly condemned, and his clearly prejudiced and shoddy scholarship should be more clearly exposed. His "best book in decades"? Give me a break!

ANGELO FALCÓN
Puerto Rican Legal Defense & Education Fund

LAZARE REPLIES

New York City

■ No, give *me* a break. Angelo Falcón accuses Samuel Huntington of playing fast and loose with the facts without citing a specific example. He tosses around phrases like "factually incorrect" and "shoddy scholarship" yet provides nothing to back them up. This is not only unfair, but unconvincing. Besides, is the issue really whether Mexican immigrants are slow to learn English or apply for US citizenship, as Huntington alleges? If they aren't, then nativists like Huntington will always be able to find some other "negative" aspect to seize upon, just as their predecessors did with regard to Italians, Irish and Jews. (How many earnest articles were written in the 1920s defending Jews against the charge of clannishness and criminal proclivities?)

The real issue, rather, is nativism itself, which is an attempt to freeze society in place and wall it off against outside influences—ethnic, religious and, above all, ideological. Xenophobia of this sort not only threatens immigrants but democracy in general, as my review attempted to show.

But I trust that Huntington is right and Falcón wrong in asserting that "the overriding goal" of Mexicans immigrants "is to fit in—not to undermine American society." Those of us attempting to undermine American society from within could use a little outside assistance, and if Mexicans, with their rich revolutionary tradition, are not going to help, who the hell will?

DANIEL LAZARE

NOVEMBER SONG

Tucson

■ I'm not much of a poet, but I'm a World War II vet who cares what is happening:

Bush lied,
Thousands died.
On this Election Day,
We must Kerry him away.

LARRY COWELL

E-mail your letters to: letters@thenation.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Lost Steps

AVI SHLAIM

THE MISSING PEACE: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace.
By Dennis Ross.
Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 840 pp. $35.

THE PATH TO GENEVA: The Quest for a Permanent Agreement, 1996–2004.
By Yossi Beilin.
Akashic. 377 pp. $22.95.

American policy-makers may be divided into two schools of thought on the Arab-Israeli conflict: the evenhanded and the Israel-first. The evenhanded school seeks to play the role of the honest broker in pushing the two sides toward a settlement of the dispute between them. It believes that America's most vital interests lie in the oil-producing Arabian Gulf, and it is reluctant to jeopardize those interests by being too close to Israel. The Israel-first school, on the other hand, supports a special relationship with the Jewish state, hailing it as an island of democracy in a sea of authoritarianism. Members of this school also seek a settlement of the dispute between Israel and its neighbors. But their starting point is that Israel has to assume serious risks on the road to peace and that America should therefore give it all the support it needs in order to feel confident enough to assume those risks. George H.W. Bush was arguably the most evenhanded President in American history. Bill Clinton was by far the most pro-Israel President until George W. Bush's rise to power. An Israeli newspaper once described Clinton as the last Zionist. In long historical perspective, however, George W. Bush may yet emerge with a stronger claim to this title.

Dennis Ross was the chief Middle East peace negotiator in the Republican Administration of George H.W. Bush and in the two terms of Bill Clinton's presidency. Ross was particularly close to Secretary of State James Baker, so the Democratic victory in the 1992 election was expected to spell the end of his diplomatic career. But Clinton wanted Ross to stay on as head of the American Middle East team under Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Consequently, Ross remained a key player in this political process for the next eight years. He thus has the unique distinction of having served in a prominent capacity both in the most evenhanded American administration since the war and in one of the most ardently pro-Israel ones.

Despite Bush the elder's pedigree, Ross belongs fairly and squarely in the pro-Israel camp. His premises, position on the Middle East and policy preferences are identical to those of the Israel-first school. Indeed, it is difficult to think of an American official who is more quintessentially Israel-first in his outlook than Dennis Ross.

During the time covered in Dennis Ross's memoir of the Middle East peace process, there was far more process than peace.

In his memoir Ross recounts in minute detail his personal involvement in the Middle East peace process from 1988 to January 2001. This was an eventful period in the history of the region, which saw the Gulf War, the Madrid peace conference, bilateral Arab-Israeli negotiations under American auspices in Washington, the Oslo Accord between Israel and the PLO, the conclusion of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, the rise and fall of Benjamin Netanyahu, the ill-fated Camp David summit and the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada. There were also persistent though ultimately unsuccessful efforts to achieve a breakthrough on the Syrian track, the high points being the meetings between Ehud Barak and Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and between Bill Clinton and President Hafez al-Assad in Geneva.

During the period covered in this book, there was thus a great deal of peace process and Dennis Ross was the peace processor par excellence. Unfortunately, the substan-

Avi Shlaim, a British Academy Research Professor at St. Antony's College, Oxford, is the author of The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World *(Norton).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive achievements of this process were not so impressive, for there was more process than peace. The two major achievements—Oslo and the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty—were negotiated directly between the parties themselves with virtually no American involvement. Ross indirectly acknowledges the failure to achieve comprehensive peace in the Middle East by calling his book *The Missing Peace*. The main point and the real value of the book are indicated in the subtitle—it is the inside story of the struggle for peace, of the failures as well as the successes, of personalities and policies, of countless crises and confrontations, of backstage maneuvers and media spin, of betrayals and brinkmanship, of the high points and the low points.

About Ross's dedication and commitment to the cause of peace there can be no doubt, but his influence over the actual course of events is more difficult to measure. Yossi Beilin, the militant Israeli moderate and one of the main architects of the Oslo Accord, has recently published a book titled *The Path to Geneva: The Quest for a Permanent Agreement, 1996–2004*. "Until Clinton's very last day in office," writes Beilin, "Ross wanted to believe that it was possible to reach an agreement. The failure of the negotiations with the Syrians and with the Palestinians was the failure of Dennis Ross." This verdict is surely too harsh. The fact that Ross kept up his frantic efforts to broker an agreement literally until his last day in office does not necessarily saddle him with the responsibility for the failure. More senior players were involved, and it was their choices that determined the final outcome.

Some of the controversy surrounding Ross is related to the fact that he is Jewish. Not so subtle questions were sometimes raised, especially in the Arab world, about his being Jewish and its effect on his fairness as a negotiator. Ross himself tells us that his faith was never an issue with the Presidents and Secretaries of State with whom he worked most closely. This is obvious: Had his faith been a problem, Ross's employers would not have appointed him in the first place or kept him on following the transition from a Republican to a Democratic administration. On the other hand, he tells us, some right-wing American Jews have felt that Israel is in such danger that it should never be subjected to pressure or criticism. When the Bush-Baker team put pressure on the government of Yitzhak Shamir after the Gulf War, Ross received hate mail branding him a self-hating Jew. The gibe could not be further off the mark, for he is in fact a very proud Jew. One can only sympathize with Ross for the crassness of some of his American co-religionists. As Ross himself points out, "In the Jewish tradition there are few higher callings than to be a seeker of peace—a Rodef Shalom." Some of Ross's supporters in the Jewish community described him as a Rodef Shalom, and for him there could be no greater accolade.

Arab attitudes to Ross, however, merit a more serious consideration than he allows. His relations with Yasir Arafat were always very strained. Arafat saw Ross as an arrogant man who was too close to the Israelis. In his bad moments Arafat considered Ross to be a real enemy and at one point went as far as to refuse to meet with him. Hafez al-Assad criticized Ross rather more obliquely for not being positive enough in his attitude toward Syria. The Arab media habitually portrays American policy toward the region as biased in favor of Israel as a result of the influence of the Jewish lobby and Jewish officials, and Ross was held out as a prime example. Other factors, such as the democratic nature of Israel and the lack of democracy in the Arab world, are conveniently forgotten. Nevertheless, Arab leaders' perception of Ross as partial to Israel complicated America's task as the manager of the peace process.

Ross's mistake lies in assuming that a confident Israel would embark on the road to peace. History has shown otherwise.

Since Ross was the architect of the first Bush Administration's policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict and the chief peace negotiator of the Clinton Administration, his assumptions were important. Ross's entire approach to peacemaking is premised on a strong US-Israeli relationship. Given Israel's small size and vulnerability, he argues, it must feel secure if it is to make concessions for peace. Israel would not feel safe enough to give up territory if it doubted the American commitment to its security. Similarly, the Arab world would not accommodate itself to Israel's existence if it had reason to question the staying power of the American commitment to Israel. While peace must ultimately be between the two parties and must therefore be directly negotiated by them, Israel must feel secure if it is to take risks for peace. This, in a nutshell, is Ross's philosophy of peacemaking.

There are three main problems with this approach to peacemaking. In the first place, it puts all the emphasis on Israel's concern for security and overlooks the Arab concern for justice. Given this approach, it is hardly surprising that the Arabs felt Ross was too sympathetic to Israel's needs and insufficiently attuned to theirs. Second, the Israeli concept of security is so inflated and one-sided that it amounts to a denial of the legitimate security concerns of the other side. Third, the approach advocated by Ross is wide open to abuse by Israel. Israel can absorb any amount of American aid without reciprocating with concessions to the Arabs. In short, Ross's mistake lies in assuming that a confident Israel would embark on the road to peace. History does not support this conclusion.

No one was more confident of Israel's military power than Moshe Dayan, who served as defense minister from 1967 to 1974. Yet he was unwilling to assume risks for the sake of peace. Dayan frankly admitted that he would rather have "Sharm el-Sheikh without peace than peace without Sharm el-Sheikh" (a strategic point in the Sinai Peninsula, captured from Egypt in the 1967 war and later returned to Egypt in the Camp David I agreement). Opportunities for peace during that period were missed not because Israel felt insecure but because America did not lean hard enough on its ally to return the territories it had conquered in 1967. Dayan used to say: "Our American friends offer us money, arms, and advice. We take the money, we take the arms, and we decline the advice." The lesson for peacemaking is obvious: support for Israel should be made conditional on heeding American advice.

Before embarking on the detailed narrative of the peace process, Ross outlines the context and the contours of the conflict. This takes the form of a long chapter on "Why Israelis, Arabs, and Palestinians See the World the Way They Do." Ross's account of the Israeli narrative is predictably better informed and more sympathetic than his account of the Arab and Palestinian narratives. He repeats, for example, the hoary claim that on the morrow of its spectacular military victory in June 1967, Israel offered to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights in return for peace with Egypt and Syria, only to be confronted with the "three no's" of the Arab League summit at Khartoum: no recognition, no negotiation and no peace with the State of Israel. In fact, no offer was ever made, and the process of colonization quickly got under way. Ever since then, Jewish settlements on occupied Arab land have been the main obstacle to peace in the Middle East. The three no's of Khartoum were the excuse, not the cause, for Israel's relent-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't buy a mattress topper until you try ours.

Only this Memory Foam Mattress Topper features the Sleep Better™ Guarantee!

The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper has variable support comfort cells and thicker density for a better night's sleep.

Made in U.S.A.

The 2-inch thick temperature-smart foam adjusts to your shape.

Don't be fooled by inferior mattress toppers that fail to support your spine properly, which can result in pain due to increased pressure on certain parts of your body. Also, some mattresses, sporting certain degrees of visco-elastic foam, can cost you well over $1000. We are so sure you will be satisfied with not only the quality, but the price of our topper, that we are offering our mattress topper with our exclusive 90-day home trial. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it within 90 days for the product purchase price. One of the world's leading manufacturers of foam products has developed an incredibly affordable, high-quality mattress topper that can actually change the way you sleep. Introducing the future of a better night's sleep:
*The **Memory Foam Ultra** mattress topper.*

- **Thicker foam for comfort**
- **Heat and pressure sensitive**
- **Variable support "comfort cells"**
- **Patented six-zone topper design**
- **FREE mattress pad**

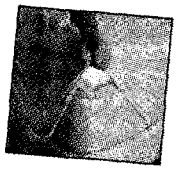
Sleep Better™...Wake up to a better morning. The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is designed to give you a better sleep surface. Not only does it support each region of your body, but it's also temperature sensitive. With its various-sized "comfort cells," the 2-inch thick Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper combines six zones to support specific body area weight, which promotes a better night's sleep. The largest cells support your shoulders and midsection, while the medium-sized cells support the lumbar, lower back and legs. The smallest cells support your head and feet. Combined, these zones provide variable support from head to toe. By using visco-elastic foam, the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper also molds to your body contours to help prevent tossing and turning during the night. When you lie down on this amazing material, the heat and pressure sensitive foam reacts to your body's weight and temperature, so that it molds to your exact body shape. This means that whether you sleep on your back, stomach or side, your weight is evenly distributed and your spine remains in a neutral position. Other surfaces support your body at the shoulders, hips and legs only. This causes your spine to sag in other areas, which can often result in discomfort, and even back pain. You'll wake up rested, relaxed and ready to take on the day. Anyone who suffers from insomnia and back pain due to mattress discomfort can benefit from this technology.

What should you know about mattress toppers?

	Why It's Important	Memory Foam Ultra (MFU)	Brand X	MFU/Brand X Comparison
Thickness	Comfort	2.0 inch	1.25 inch	MFU almost double
Strength in psi	Durability	18 psi	14 psi	MFU better
Comfort Zones	Comfort and support	6 zones	Flat surface	MFU is much better
Body Impressions (pressure/humidity)	Durability. Lower the %, the better topper longevity.	20%	73%	MFU is much better
Recovery Time sec. (72 degrees F)	More visco-elasticity= slower recovery time	15 sec.	<2 sec.	MFU is much better
Quilted mattress pad	Durability & comfort	Yes	No	MFU better
Price (twin size)	Best dollar/value ratio	$99.90	Cheap!	MFU has more value

**According to manufacturer's specifications*

FREE heavyweight mattress pad included. Included with the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is a fitted mattress pad. It's heavyweight and quilted, and made of 200-count 100% cotton with a 14-inch deep stretchable skirt to fit a mattress up to 21 inches thick.



Try it for yourself today! The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper can change the way you sleep. Promote proper spine positioning, while enjoying relief from insomnia and back pain with this full-body support. It comes with a 5-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive in-home trial.

Memory Foam Ultra Mattress Topper:
Item# 2P-2870
Sizes Twin through California King
Prices starting as low as ~~$~~... 2 payments of ..... $49.95 each + S&H
FREE mattress pad—a $59.95 value!
Please mention promotional code 28560.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-876-4124

For mail-in orders, please call for details

*first*STREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST
Formerly TechnoScout®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

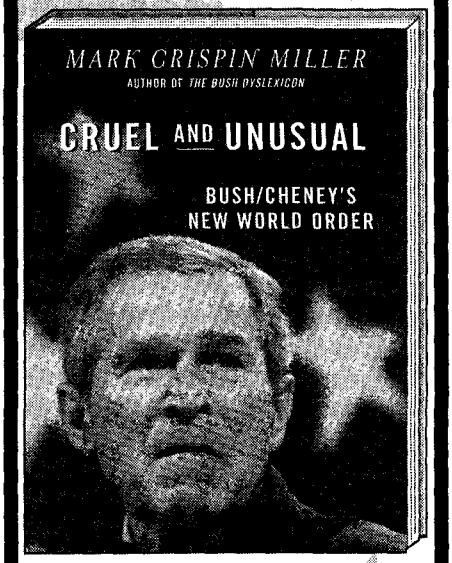
38466

For quick and easy online ordering of your Memory Foam Ultra, go to
www.memoryfoamtopper.com

All rights reserved. © 2004 *first*STREET, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A mordant and passionate exposé of the right-wing threat to American democracy



CRUEL AND UNUSUAL
Bush / Cheney's New World Order
Mark Crispin Miller

"Miller's thoroughness and clarity in tracking down the sources of the policies he decries, and the ways in which they are disseminated, **set the book apart.**"
—*Publishers Weekly*

"Miller proceeds to say many unkind things about Dubya, some of them funny, some incisive."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

Praise for *The Bush Dyslexicon: Observations on a National Disorder*

"Bracing, entertaining."
—*The New Yorker*

"This is simply the finest, most comprehensive and masterfully annotated collection of Bushisms to date."
—Barbara Ehrenreich

"Fiercely funny and insightful . . . also a rousing call to arms."
—Arianna Huffington

Wherever books are sold

NORTON
Independent publishers since 1923
www.wwnorton.com

less intransigence in the post-1967 era.

Ross is right to stress that the two sides have a fundamentally different approach to peace negotiations. The Israeli mindset focused on practical, highly detailed matters, and on the security dimensions. By contrast, the Arab and Palestinian mindsets were drawn to principles, generalities and their broad claims: Return their land, and peace—or at least the absence of war—would result. The onus to start the process was on Israel, not on them, because it was Israel that had occupied their land. From these very different starting points stemmed the different ideas about peace negotiations, their purpose and the tactics that should be employed.

Ross's involvement in the story began with the peace conference that James Baker convened in Madrid in the wake of the Gulf War. It was the mother of all Middle East peace conferences and a real landmark. Prior to Madrid the question was: Could negotiations ever take place? Afterward, it was: Could the negotiations ever produce peace? The conference itself was in fact more significant at the symbolic than at the practical level. It ended the taboo on direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. It also established the ground rules: bilateral negotiations on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace that they incorporated. After the conference, as always, the slow coach was Israel. Yitzhak Shamir was dragged to Madrid kicking and screaming, and as long as he remained prime minister, the bilateral talks went nowhere slowly.

With the rise to power of Yitzhak Rabin's Labor government in June 1992, the American peace team was back in business. Within a matter of months, Bill Clinton was firmly ensconced in the White House. Both leaders tended to favor a "Syria-first" strategy, believing that a deal with Syria would change the entire strategic landscape of the region in a way that a deal with the Palestinians could not. Rabin was prepared to contemplate a complete withdrawal from the Golan Heights in return for complete peace and security. This conditional offer became known as "the pocket," as it was placed in Warren Christopher's pocket. Christopher embarked on a shuttle between Jerusalem and Damascus that brought the two sides to the brink of peace. But the final terms that Assad offered fell short of Rabin's expectations, so he accelerated the secret talks with the PLO that culminated in the Oslo Accord.

The implicit bargain was statehood for security. A historic threshold had been crossed. Having been upstaged by the Norwegians, the American peace processors did not sulk in their tents; they immediately rallied round to promote the PLO-Israel accord, to elevate it and to generate momentum behind it. Clinton succeeded brilliantly in turning the signing ceremony of the Declaration of Principles into the most spectacular diplomatic event of the 1990s. A year later, Rabin surprised Clinton again by presenting him with a peace agreement with Jordan on a silver platter. But a year after that an Israeli extremist, Yigal Amir, assassinated Rabin, dealing a body blow to the peace process.

Benjamin Netanyahu's victory over Shimon Peres at the polls in May 1996 was most unwelcome to the Americans. Clinton had told Rabin that if the prime minister ran risks for peace, the United States would act to minimize those risks. Now that Rabin was dead, Clinton felt responsible for preserving his legacy. Netanyahu posed an unmistakable threat to this legacy. As prime minister, Netanyahu was not as bad as people had expected—he was much, much worse. In his first meeting with the President, at which Ross was present, "Netanyahu was nearly insufferable, lecturing and telling us how to deal with the Arabs. He would respect the Oslo agreement because a democratically elected government in Israel had adopted it, but there would have to be adjustments and new negotiations over parts of it." After Netanyahu left the room, Clinton observed, "He thinks he is the superpower and we are here to do whatever he requires." No one, according to Ross, disagreed with that assessment.

Following Netanyahu's visit, Ross traveled to the region to brief Arab leaders. "My visits with both Assad and Arafat were successful," he writes, "but Netanyahu—believing that his policy of talking tough but not doing anything was working—squandered what I delivered." Netanyahu also strained relations with Jordan to the breaking point for no apparent reason, provoking an uncharacteristically emotional and personal attack from King Hussein. In a meeting at the White House, the King accused Netanyahu of threatening the hopes for peace of Arabs and Israelis alike with his refusal to respect agreements, immaturity and poor judgment.

Ehud Barak's 1999 victory over Netanyahu raised expectations sky-high in Israel, among the Palestinians and within the Clinton Administration. Whereas Netanyahu only scored points, Barak promised to solve problems. Clinton said that he waited for Barak's arrival in Washington like a child waiting for a new toy. The American peace processors were back in business.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

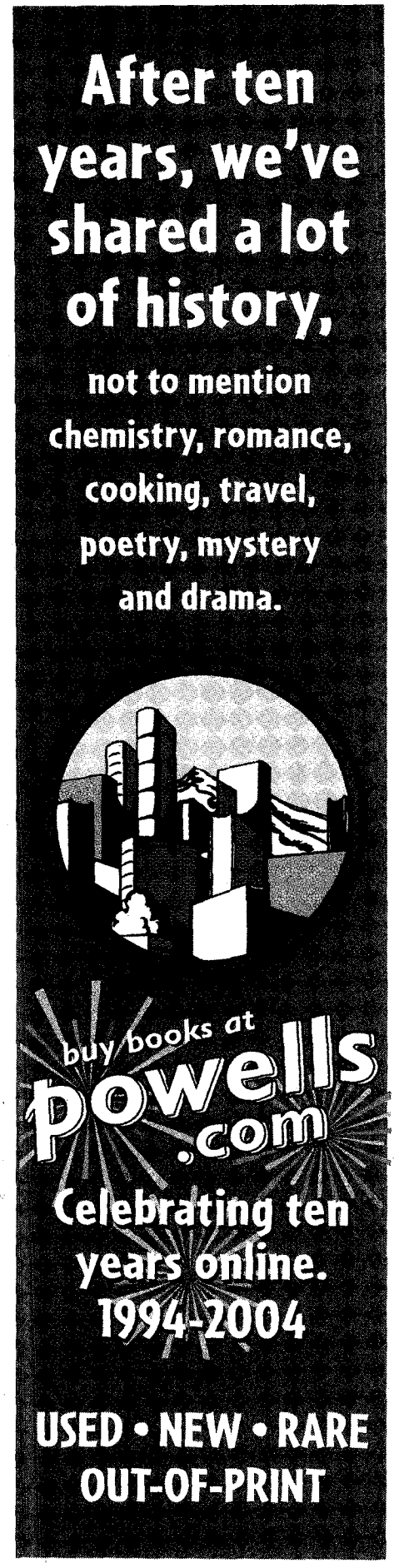
Clinton hoped that Barak would fulfill all of Israel's outstanding commitments to further troop withdrawals from the West Bank and then proceed without delay to negotiations on a permanent-status agreement with the Palestinians. But he yielded to Barak's insistence on aiming for a deal with Syria first. Barak and Assad were realists. They knew that what mattered to the Syrians was the land, and that what mattered most to the Israelis was security and water. There was thus a basis for a deal, for "a peace of the brave," as Assad liked to call it. Barak's initial approach to the Syrians, however, was based on a faulty premise: that he did not have to reaffirm Rabin's conditional commitment to withdraw to the lines of June 4, 1967, which would place Syria on the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Barak wanted Israeli sovereignty over the lake and a strip of about 400 yards to the east of it.

When Ross accompanied Madeleine Albright to Damascus in December 1999, it was clear that something had changed. Assad put forward ideas but did not impose any conditions for resuming negotiations with Israel. This paved the way for a meeting between Barak and Farouk al-Shara at Shepherdstown, the following month. At Shepherdstown the Syrians were willing to go forward, but Barak held back. Unbeknownst to the Americans, Barak received the results of a poll that led him to believe that full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan would arouse widespread domestic opposition. He therefore decided to hold fast regardless of the Syrian moves. It was then, Ross later came to believe, that the deal was probably lost—and with it the possibility of an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon within the framework of an understanding with Syria rather than under pressure from Hezbollah.

Clinton made one more effort to broker a deal by inviting Assad to a summit meeting in Geneva on March 26, 2000. Prior to the meeting Clinton elicited from Barak his bottom lines. At the meeting, Clinton announced with great drama that Barak, based on "a commonly agreed border," was prepared to withdraw to the June 4 line as part of a peace agreement. Ross tells us that Assad was simply not interested. But his account of the summit is inaccurate and unreliable. Instead of acting as an honest broker, Ross cooperated with Barak in an attempt to trick Assad. Assad's position was consistent and unswerving: He insisted all along on full withdrawal to the June 4 line in an exchange for full peace, nothing more and nothing less. Barak, on the other hand, played games, using Clinton to intimate to Assad that the Israelis were going to offer this if he came to Geneva. But when everyone assembled at Geneva, the proposal that Barak presented still had Israeli control over the whole of the Sea of Galilee. Barak did not offer to withdraw to the June 4 line. He did offer territory elsewhere in exchange for keeping control of the shoreline, but Assad considered this unacceptable. He claimed that "the lake has always been our lake; it was never theirs.... There were no Jews to the east of the lake." He could not last in power for one day, he said, if he were to agree to what Barak was asking.

The meeting in Geneva thus ended abruptly in high-visibility failure. The most charitable explanation of this failure is that a misunderstanding had occurred: Assad expected to have his needs met as he defined them, and he simply shut down when he saw that the President had not delivered what he expected from Barak. Ross, however, suggests a different explanation. He thinks that Assad, conscious of his failing health, was preoccupied with insuring a smooth succession for his son Bashar. A deal with Israel was no longer on his agenda. This explanation, however, ignores two facts: Assad had prepared his public at home for an imminent agreement, and he brought a large team of experts to Geneva, including military officials. As they left the conference room, Assad went up to Ross and grasped him by the upper arm. Ross reciprocated this silent gesture of friendship. Though Assad did not seem weak, Ross noticed as he grasped his upper arm that there was nothing there—no muscle, no fat, no tissue, just bone. This seemed to confirm the reports about the Syrian dictator's declining health. But whatever the cause of Assad's intransigence, the Syrian track was dead.

Having left the Palestinians to twist in the wind, Barak now had no choice but to resume negotiations with them. Once again he asked for American help, and once again he expected the Americans to do everything his way. As Yossi Beilin testifies, Barak called Clinton often to comment, criticize and complain. Like his predecessor, Barak treated the President of the United States like a clerk and got impatient when his orders were not carried out immediately. Many of the technical details with which Barak burdened the President could have been safely left to the subministerial level. Barak is a most peculiar individual, combining high intelligence with a complete absence of interpersonal skills. In the army they used to call him "little Napoleon" both because of the physical resemblance—short and stocky with a pear-shaped head—and the authoritarian personality. His style of negotiation is best described as the extension of war by other


After ten years, we've shared a lot of history,
not to mention chemistry, romance, cooking, travel, poetry, mystery and drama.
buy books at
powells.com
Celebrating ten years online.
1994-2004
USED • NEW • RARE
OUT-OF-PRINT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

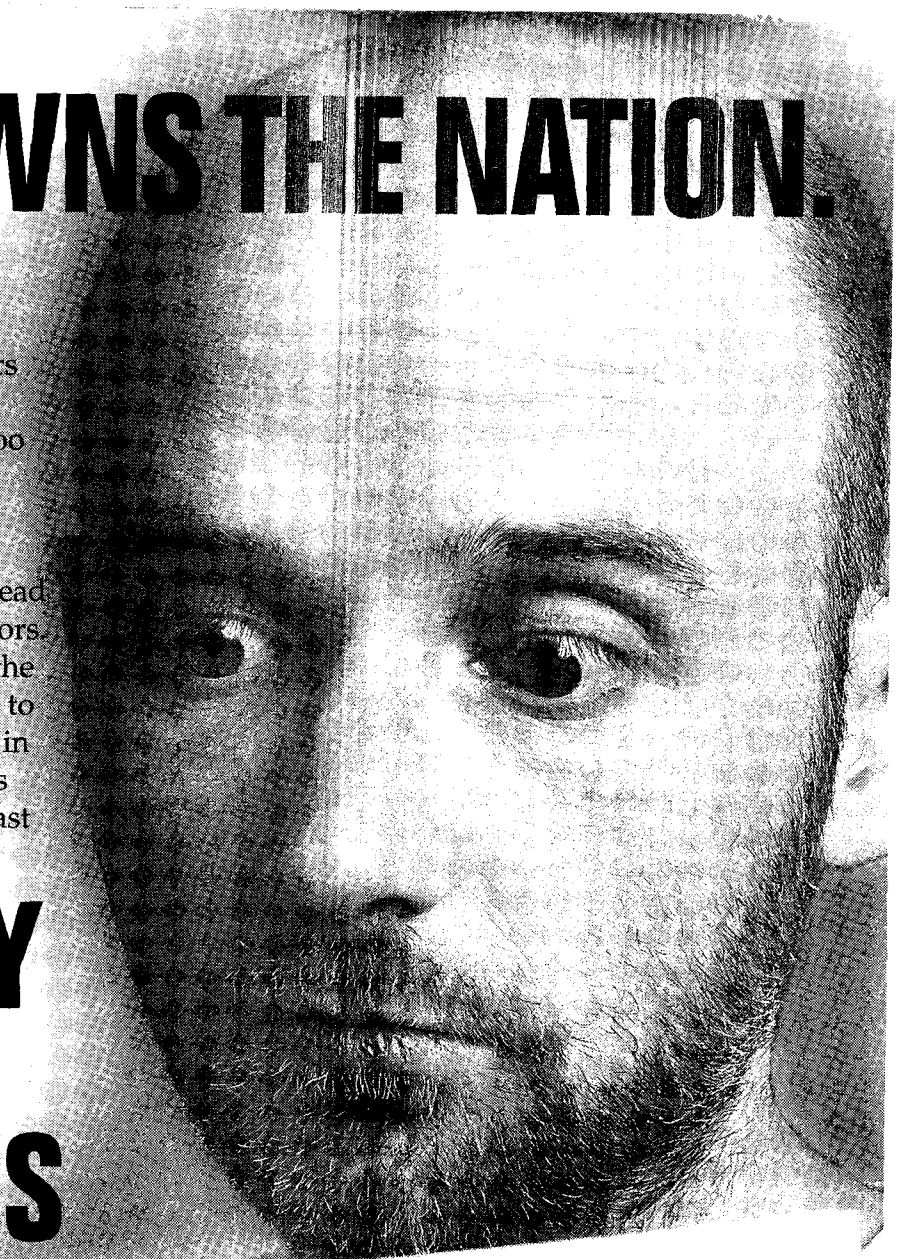
NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.



THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

24 ISSUES JUST $21.97

Save $48 off the newsstand price!

Yes, please add my name to the long list of notable *Nation* subscribers!

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

[ ] MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED. [ ] BILL ME AFTER. BILL MY [ ] MASTERCARD [ ] VISA [ ] AMEX

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

New subscribers only. Canadian orders add $13 for 24 issues, $26 for 47 issues. All other overseas add $29.50 via airmail for 24 issues, $59 for 47 issues. Payable in advance in US funds only.

Mail to: THE NATION, P.O. Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149

[ ] I'd prefer a full year (47 issues) for $35.97

For fastest service call 1-800-333-8536 4H1Q

Moby is a longstanding Nation *reader.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

means, or peace by ultimatum.

Barak refused to fulfill Netanyahu's commitment to a third redeployment on the West Bank. This undermined Palestinian trust in him. Brushing aside their protests, Barak insisted on a summit meeting between the top leaders to conclude a final-status agreement, and Clinton obliged. Arafat felt that a summit was premature and that if it failed, it would make matters worse. He suggested lower-level talks to close the gaps and lay the groundwork for the summit. Clinton persuaded Arafat to attend the summit and promised him that if it failed, no one would be blamed: There would be no finger-pointing. The summit meeting was duly convened at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland, and lasted fourteen days, from July 11 to 25, 2000. Ross provides an exceptionally detailed and gripping account of what transpired at the summit, day by day, almost blow by blow. His account demonstrates complete mastery of the issues, considerable psychological insight and a keen sense of drama.

Barak emerges from Ross's account as a man who played his cards very close to his chest, driven by conflicting impulses and utterly exhausting and exasperating to deal with. To be fair to Barak, he did bring to Camp David a set of ideas that touched on all the most sensitive issues at the core of the conflict: Palestinian statehood, borders, Jerusalem and refugees. His great fear was that Arafat would pocket whatever he offered and demand more, forcing Barak to move again beyond his red lines. He could contemplate withdrawal from 90 percent of the West Bank, but he was worried that the Palestinians would retain the animating grievances of the conflict—Jerusalem and the right of return of the 1948 refugees. In short, Barak was worried that Israel would come under pressure to give up a great deal but get nothing in return. His mood was darkly apocalyptic, seeing everything in life-and-death terms. So stressed was Barak that he choked on a peanut and required the Heimlich maneuver to resume breathing. Barak's way of dealing with these anxieties, however, was self-defeating. He would not accept anything that he did not hear directly from Arafat, yet he refused to meet Arafat. In the two weeks at Camp David the two leaders did not have one serious face-to-face discussion. This left Clinton with the unenviable task of serving as a messenger between the two taciturn and surly leaders.

On the seventh day of the summit, Clinton's patience was exhausted and he flipped his lid. Barak gave Clinton a paper that he wanted him to present to the Palestinians as his own. Not only did the paper pose questions as if the Palestinians had a test they must pass, but it walked back some of the key moves that Shlomo Ben-Ami, Barak's foreign minister, had made earlier. Clinton exploded: "You want to present these ideas directly to Arafat, to the Palestinians, you go ahead and see if you can sell it. There is no way I can. This is not real. This is not serious. I went to Shepherdstown and was told nothing by you for four days. I went to Geneva and felt like a wooden Indian doing your bidding." His voice rising and his face reddened, Clinton shouted, "I will not let it happen here. I will simply not do it." This outburst evidently had a sobering effect, for the next day Barak finally presented his bottom lines. Clinton duly conveyed the new ideas to Arafat, underlining their historic significance. Were they a basis for concluding an agreement, yes or no? The answer came back: No. Nor did Arafat make any counterproposal. This sealed the fate of the summit. Clinton promptly laid all the blame for the failure of the summit at Arafat's door, breaking his promise that there would be no finger-pointing in the event of failure.

The fundamental cause of failure at Camp David lies not in Arafat's psychological make-up but in the package Barak put on offer.

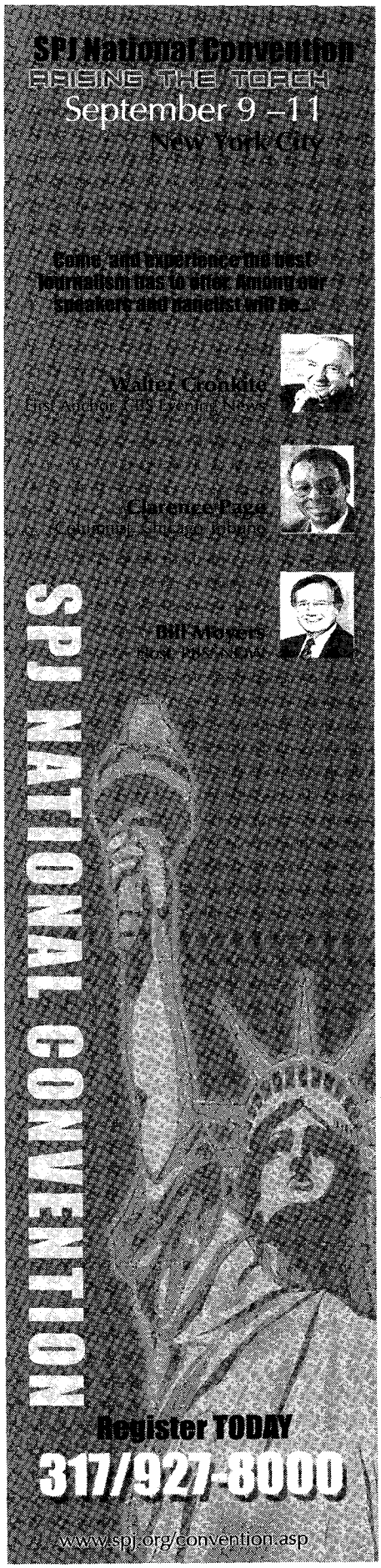
With Clinton's support, Barak's version of events rapidly gained ground, particularly in Israel and the United States. According to this version, Israel made the most generous offer imaginable at Camp David, but Arafat rejected it flatly and made a deliberate decision to return to violence. This allegedly demonstrated that there is no Palestinian partner for peace. In *The Missing Peace* Dennis Ross supports this version, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly. During the crisis at Camp David, he muses that Arafat may simply not be up to making a deal: "He is a revolutionary; he has made being a victim an art form; he can't redefine himself into someone who must end all claims and truly end the conflict."

The Barak-Ross version of the collapse of the Camp David summit is simplistic, selective and self-serving. It is also contradicted by Ross's own account. If he and Barak didn't think that Arafat was up to doing a deal, why did they convene the summit and pressure Arafat to attend it? Didn't the intimate relationship with the Israelis cast some doubt on America's claim to be acting as an honest broker? Was there no basis for Arafat's suspicion of an Israeli-American conspiracy to corner him at Camp David? Arafat has many faults, but he has demonstrated his ability to make historic choices, notably by opting for a two-state solution in 1988 and by signing the Oslo Accord in 1993. By contrast, Barak had been unhappy about the accord with the PLO; he abstained in the cabinet vote on the 1995 Oslo II agreement; and he had never been a member of what Yossi Beilin calls "the peace mafia" in Israel. The most fundamental cause of the failure of the Camp David summit lies not in Arafat's psychological makeup but in Barak's package. On the one hand, he offered only limited concessions on Jerusalem and the refugees, and on the other hand he insisted on an absolute end to the conflict. He insisted that the Palestinians sign on the dotted line that they had no further claims against the State of Israel. This remorseless insistence on finality was in fact part of the problem, not the solution. Peace by ultimatum did not work.

Barak's package was a reasonable basis for an interim agreement, not for the final end of the conflict, which he wanted so badly. Israelis like to demonize Arafat, but no Palestinian leader, however moderate, could accept the package on offer at Camp David. Arafat, in fact, represents the broadest consensus within the Palestinian community. That is the source of his legitimacy and the secret of his strength. Arafat's real mistake was not to reject the much-vaunted "generous offer" but to encourage, or at least to tolerate, the resort to violence from his side following the collapse of the Oslo peace process. The Palestinian resort to violence in the al-Aqsa intifada had disastrous consequences. It came close to destroying the peace camp in Israel, convinced the public that there is no partner for peace and brought to power the most aggressively right-wing government in Israel's history.

The Missing Peace is a comprehensive and fascinating memoir about the trials and tribulations of an American peace processor. It covers a period of thirteen years on all the tracks, and it ends with some general reflections on the perils and pitfalls of peacemaking. It is easy to pour scorn on a process that absorbed so much time and energy from all the parties involved and yielded such meager results. But the years since the end of the Clinton presidency have shown all too clearly the cost of not having a peace process. A peace process does not invariably produce a settlement, but it usually keeps the dogs of war at bay. Talking, however protracted and inconclusive, is preferable to fighting and mutual carnage. As Winston Churchill used to say, "Better to jaw-jaw than to war-war." Dennis Ross and the other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



members of his team therefore deserve our gratitude for all their efforts to bring a measure of peace and stability to a region that is notoriously prone to irrational behavior and violence. And Ross himself deserves special commendation for producing such a revealing record of these efforts.

Yet *The Missing Peace* raises serious questions about the soundness of the Israel-first school of which Dennis Ross is a prominent member. The American emphasis on Israel's security at the expense of Palestinian rights was one of the reasons for the failure of the American-sponsored peace process. The asymmetry in power between Israel and the Palestinians is such that a voluntary agreement between the parties is simply unattainable. A third party is needed to push Israel into a settlement, and that third party can only be the United States. What is more, the Americans have the capacity to bring effective pressure to bear on Israel. America supports Israel to the tune of $3 billion a year. Never in the annals of human history have so few owed so much to so many. It simply does not make sense for America *not* to exert this leverage in the cause of peace. Paradoxically, the most serious charge against the Israel-first school is that it does not serve Israel's true, long-term interests. Israel's real interest, like that of the Palestinians, lies in an end to the occupation and a two-state solution. In the absence of a fair and equitable solution, the two communities will remain locked in a fatal embrace, an endless dance of death. ■

The Middle Man

MARK MAZOWER

CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE EAST: US Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945–1961.
By Peter L. Hahn. North Carolina. 398 pp. $45.

CONTAINING ARAB NATIONALISM: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East.
By Salim Yaqub. North Carolina. 392 pp. $59.95.

AMERICAN ORIENTALISM: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945.
By Douglas Little. North Carolina. 424 pp. $19.95.

Over the century that followed the Napoleonic wars, the Ottoman Empire contracted and eventually disappeared from the map. In the Balkans, its place was taken by Christian nation-states, whose successful struggle for independence owed a great deal to the backing of Europe's great powers. Once formed, the newcomers quickly demonstrated their independence of their original sponsors, playing off one side against the other in the struggle for mastery in Europe that preoccupied Britain, France, Germany and Russia in the decades before 1914. But in the empire's Arab provinces, the struggle for national liberation came later and in a very different geopolitical context. Independence arrived suddenly and unexpectedly as a result of the First World War, shaped by boundaries drawn up during secret discussions between British and French diplomats. London and Paris emerged from Versailles with overseas empires larger than ever before, and the new states of the Middle East became the focus of this expansion. Nominally mandatories of the League of Nations, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine were in reality no more independent of their European masters than Egypt or Cyprus. In the Middle East, therefore, the creation of post-Ottoman states did not spell the end of colonial or quasi-colonial rule but rather its intensification and Europeanization. And with the rapid consolidation of a Jewish settler society in Palestine, this new form of imperialism threatened the very principle of national self-determination that the war had supposedly been waged to support.

None of this had very much to do with the United States. For a long time, the country was primarily associated in the Arab world with the American Protestant missionaries who had been active there through the nineteenth century. Woodrow Wilson had not known about the Anglo-French wartime carve-up of the region, and when he learned about it he was ready to respect its terms (in contrast to the harder line he took in Europe itself), dropping his insistence on applying the principle of national self-determination. He ignored pleas from Arab politicians at Versailles and accepted the

Mark Mazower, a professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of the forthcoming Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430–1950 *(HarperCollins).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

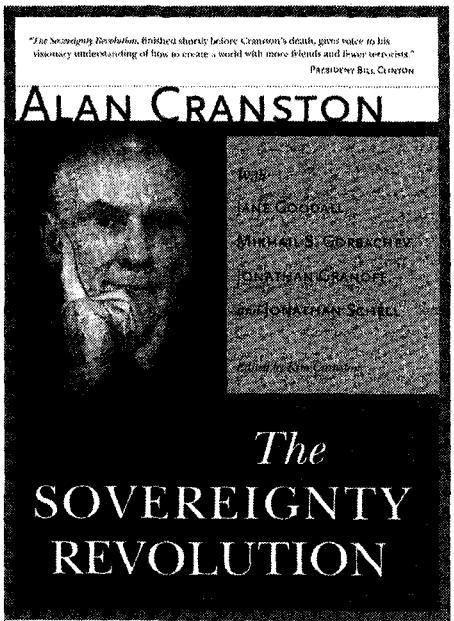
extension of French and British influence. Washington's willingness to allow its European partners to take the lead did not vanish during or even after the Second World War. The French were forced to disgorge Lebanon and Syria, and had their hands full in Algeria. But Britain's moment in the Middle East lasted until the ill-fated Suez crisis of 1956, when British, French and Israeli forces attacked Egypt before being forced to withdraw at Eisenhower's insistence. This makes the period from 1945 to 1970 of extraordinary importance for anyone seeking to understand the roots of US Middle East policy, for it was in these years that the region moved gradually from being of secondary importance for Washington policy-makers to one of their central preoccupations.

After Hitler's defeat, President Truman scrambled to educate himself and the American people in the new global responsibilities forced upon them by the cold war. Preoccupied by the looming confrontation with the Soviet Union, anxious not to let Europe fall apart, Truman paid only sporadic attention to the Middle East. Palestine provided the most urgent dilemma, since the British were clearly intent on bailing out. Partition had already provided an exit strategy in India, and the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine was certainly not alone in thinking it was the only viable solution in Palestine, too, a view backed by the General Assembly at the end of 1947. American Jewish life had been transformed by the rise of pro-Zionist lobbyists, who were pushing this line and exerting none too subtle pressure on the White House. Truman may not have realized the impact his immediate recognition of the Jewish state would have on Arab public opinion. But henceforth, the United States—despite the relatively modest scale of its support for Israel—was on the back foot where the Arab states were concerned.

For the Americans, Israel was a distraction from the real issue—oil—vital not so much to the American economy itself as to any chance of recovery in Western Europe, the main front against Communism. Regional stability was essential to keeping the oil flowing, and any threat to this—whether Israeli saber-rattling or Communist subversion—needed to be checked. Hence the Pentagon opposed arms sales to Israel on the grounds that it already had offensive superiority over its neighbors, and supported British efforts to build up Arab armed forces, especially since these could be used for internal policing as well as externally. Anxious to avert further fighting between Israel and its neighbors, Washington felt like a bewildered honest broker on a rapid learning curve. This, at least, is the picture sketched out by Peter Hahn in *Caught in the Middle East*—an emergent power learning the limits of its influence, riven internally by conflicts between pro-Arab State and Defense departments, on the one hand, and a White House often vulnerable to concerted Zionist lobbying campaigns, on the other. It must be said, however, that although US policy was more evenhanded than it would later become, it was hardly as passive or disinterested as Hahn's depiction might suggest. It was America's strategic interests and political realities that drove its policies, in all their inconsistency, and not merely a high-minded desire to act the impartial arbiter in someone else's fight.

To move from Truman to Eisenhower is to go from disengagement, muddling through and deference to British initiative to a new concerted grand strategy. For the first time, the Middle East was accorded the honor of a presidential doctrine in its own right. Ike and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, worked hard for a peace settlement, especially as the ousting of the King in Egypt in 1952 and violent clashes along the border with Israel raised the stakes. Suez killed off the chances for their ambitious "Alpha Plan" to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict but left American prestige at an all-time high in the Arab world once they forced the British and French, and later the Israelis (a much tougher proposition), to withdraw. Yet ultimately, their strategic approach proved no more successful than Truman's muddling through. After Suez, Washington took over from Whitehall as regional hegemon, but far from rejecting the premises of British policy, the Eisenhower Doctrine simply transposed London's imperial disdain for the nationalists into a new key.

What emerges clearly from the accounts of Hahn, Salim Yaqub and Douglas Little is how little Washington understood the consequences of foisting its cold war obsessions upon a region with other things on its mind. It was anticolonialism that fueled Arab anger at the Suez war, and the brief glimpse of an older anti-imperial America elicited an astonished gratitude. Yet almost immediately, Washington's priorities reasserted themselves—patching up the all-important global alliance with the British, and focusing on the threat of Communism. As a result, the Eisenhower Doctrine, which tried to insist that America's priorities should be those of the Middle East, too, was bound to fail, for reasons brilliantly analyzed by Yaqub in his sparkling monograph, *Containing Arab Nationalism*. By trying to reintegrate Britain into the Middle East, the Eisenhower Doc-



The Sovereignty Revolution
ALAN CRANSTON
Edited by KIM CRANSTON

"Senator Alan Cranston was a passionate public servant, a true citizen of the world, and an inspirational force for peace. *The Sovereignty Revolution*, finished shortly before his death, gives voice to his visionary understanding of how to create a world with more friends and fewer terrorists. The Senator argues that we must revise our notions of sovereignty if we are to meet the global challenges of the 21st century. While we mourn his loss, how fortunate we are to have this book—a gift of his wisdom reflecting the lessons of a lifetime."
—President Bill Clinton

"Alan Cranston's incisive essay covers international problems as wide ranging as nuclear proliferation, terrorism, climate change, and genocide. It is his assessment that no nation can solve these problems on its own, rather they have to work through multilateral institutions and international law. This analysis—by the former U.S. Senator and world statesman—provides clarity on problems that have become important after 9/11, and will remain important in our quest for world peace."
—President Jimmy Carter

This book makes an impassioned argument that our current conceptions of sovereignty must change before humanity can effectively resolve the world's increasingly global challenges, from international terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons to global warming and poverty.

$19.95 cloth

Stanford
University Press
800.621.2736 www.sup.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trine made it harder for Arab states to accept American hegemony; indeed, it was soon little more than an anti-Nasser front, turning Nasser into a symbol of Arab resistance to colonial domination. Nasser played his cards well, perhaps too well, for by increasing anxiety among conservative Arab leaders, he accelerated Hashemite and Saudi reliance on US aid. Soviet arms deals with Syria and Egypt made Washington see these two states as potentially destabilizing fifth columns; Jordan, Iraq, Iran and Saudi Arabia became the linchpins of a new strategy premised on fragile monarchies, oil revenues and, in the Saudi case, Islamism. The feeble measure of Ike's success was visible by 1958: the toppling of the monarchy in Iraq, creation of the United Arab Republic, jitters in Jordan and the fiasco—no other word will do—of the US invasion of Lebanon. The Eisenhower Doctrine certainly failed to assuage the passions in the region, but its failure went far deeper than that. It turned the United States into the successor of the old European colonial powers, and as a result the rift with the Arab states grew rapidly. Another rift emerged between the revolutionary and status quo regimes of the Middle East, depriving them of sufficient common purpose to allow adequate preparation for the coming showdown with Israel. It was the latter's emphatic victory in 1967 that brought about a new stage in America's Middle East empire—the transformation of Israel into its favored regional military satellite. In *American Orientalism*, Douglas Little shows how Vietnam turned the always pro-Israel LBJ decisively against the "war of national liberation" being waged by Palestinian guerrillas and led him to equate the "terrorist attackers" in Vietnam with leftist Arab militants. While Arabs felt they were engaged in a struggle against settler colonialism, LBJ and his successor Nixon admired Israel for being "pro-freedom and an effective opponent to Soviet expansion." Definitions of what was at stake were thus diametrically opposed.

Taken together, these three books paint a depressing picture of missed opportunities and intractable enmities. Washington's cold war tunnel vision meant it failed to seize the opportunity briefly offered after Suez for a more productive relationship with the Arab states. The mildly revisionist Hahn is most empathetic: He emphasizes the difficulties that faced US policy-makers as a result of infighting, devious lobby groups and Beltway shenanigans. If only, he implies, Dulles and Ike could have been left to themselves, it could all have been sorted out. Little wants none of this. In his entertainingly written series of essays, he suggests that American cultural arrogance (or "Orientalism") was as much to blame as anything else. But Yaqub, the only one of these scholars to draw upon Arabic sources, shows that culture mattered much less than interests. The policies of Middle Eastern states were neither more nor less rational than those of anyone else, but the environment in which they operated was especially harsh. In the Balkans, post-Ottoman states were divided by the Iron Curtain and emerged into the bright light of the twenty-first century on the doorstep of the European Union. In the Middle East, by contrast, all the talk is of a new imperialism. Having put down the roots described in these works, America's empire has grown into a far more powerful force in the region than any of its predecessors. ■

FILMS

Bad Brains

STUART KLAWANS

THE MANCHURIAN CANDIDATE • ROSENSTRASSE • FILMS OF ANTHONY MANN

More than once in Jonathan Demme's reimagining of *The Manchurian Candidate*, a distraught Denzel Washington jabs at his skull and rasps, "They got in here." He means it literally. Gone are the Communist brainwashers of the 1962 film, who controlled captured GIs by means of superpowerful Asiatic hypnosis. The global capitalists of Demme's version implant orders by the more up-to-date method of drilling into the brain.

Jitters have replaced goose bumps as the key audience reaction, now that the process of mind control entails sound effects reminiscent of a dentist's office and the sight of skull powder dusting the air; and given Demme's purpose, the change is appropriate. He's using the slightly sci-fi element of his plot as a cautionary exaggeration, to sensitize you to an actually existing form of brain invasion. For the most humane reasons, he wants this movie to get into your head.

Of course, the plot has already been embedded. Most moviegoers have at least heard about the original *Manchurian Candidate* (directed by John Frankenheimer from a screenplay by George Axelrod, based on Richard Condon's novel), and many of them know how that film managed to have its Red Menace and laugh at it, too, since the story's Chinese Communists turned out to be working in America through a clique of McCarthyite politicians.

Demme dispenses with this through-the-looking-glass effect. In his version—I call it Demme's because the screenwriters, Daniel Pyne and Dean Georgaris, have not risen to this level before—an overseas conflict again provides the occasion for the initial abduction and brainwashing; but the foreign enemies have disappeared. No Kuwaitis, Iraqis or even Iranians bored into the minds of our boys during the 1991 Gulf War. Instead, the villains worked for a privately held investment firm and military contractor, Manchurian Global, whose US agents have no need to conceal themselves but work openly on the floor of Congress. Senator Eleanor Prentiss Shaw (Meryl Streep) is the company's close personal friend. Her son Raymond (Liev Schreiber), an official hero of the Gulf War, is a strangely awkward and detached fellow who is now running for Vice President because his mother tells him to, and who responds with similar obedience to whatever instructions Manchurian Global beams into his head.

When stated this baldly, the premise sounds as if Michael Moore himself would send it back to the shop for nuance. So let me begin again, properly this time, and sketch out not the conspiracy but the story, as Demme tells it:

Major Bennett Marco (Denzel Washington) is giving a talk to a small troop of Boy Scouts—an odd assignment, you think, for so impressive-looking an officer—when he is accosted by a ghost. In revenge dramas, the dead often come back to urge on a troubled hero; and so, even though the figure who pops up before Marco is nominally alive, you can readily see the rags around him as grave clothes, or imagine the smell of damp earth in his clotted hair. This man, who had served under Marco in the Gulf War and now wants to ask him about his dreams, is played with a Lazarus-like stare by the brilliant Jeffrey Wright. So rich in talent is *The Manchurian Candidate* that it can expend such an actor in a role that effectively ends after one scene, but is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

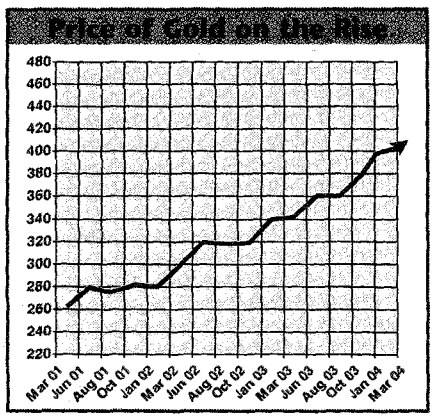
Chinese Government Ignites World's Biggest Gold Rush

Gold Coin Ownership Legalized for First Time In over 50 Years—Surge In Worldwide Gold Demand Creates Shortage

Shown larger than actual size of 18 mm

SHANGHAI, China, Tuesday 8:55 AM — What happens when 1.2 *billion* people suddenly have the opportunity to own gold after more than half a century? And what if their country has been minting one of the world's most popular gold coins for years, but they've never had the chance to own it? This is the amazing story unfolding this moment in China, where the government is legalizing gold coin ownership for its citizens, the world's largest population.

Take a look back at what happened in the United States in 1975, when the U.S. government made it legal for Americans to again own gold. An entirely new market exploded overnight. In a few years gold prices shot up to over $800 an ounce and old U.S. gold coins rocketed to unheard-of prices! What will happen to the market when the Chinese, with 25% of the entire world's population, can finally own their beloved gold coins for the first time ever?



Banned Gold Pandas are the Key

China has issued its own gold coin, the Panda, since 1982. With its popular theme, higher purity than U.S. coins (.999 pure gold) and limited mintage, the solid gold Panda has become one of the world's most coveted bullion coins, trading at a premium above all others. The "catch" is, virtually everybody in the world has been able to own them *except for the Chinese people themselves!* But now that the Chinese can buy their own gold Panda coins, the demand of 1.2 billion people is already starting to overwhelm the supply of 2004 Pandas.

Make no mistake, there is a huge pent-up demand for Panda coins in China. Several years ago, China sanctioned its first coin collector show. Chinese citizens had the opportunity to buy a simple brass Panda coin. Demand was so fierce that lines of eager buyers stretched out the doors and around the block. When it comes to gold, the Chinese are even more fanatical. When the Shanghai Gold Exchange recently opened for business, Chinese citizens bought 1.2 TONS of gold bars in just *one month!*

Chinese Bureaucracy Miscalculates

For years the total mintage of China's 50 Yuan gold Panda has been limited to just 25,000 ounces for the entire world. But it is astounding to see that the China Mint has once again set the same edition limit for the new 2004 gold Panda — even though the Chinese people now have their first chance ever to buy them! It's a mystery as to why the Chinese bureaucracy could miscalculate so badly as to not take into account the demand from its own 1.2 billion people.

Order Your Gold Pandas Before They Disappear Back to China

The 2004 Gold Panda has a glittering mirror finish with frosted image of a mother Panda with her baby and will be minted this year only. The 50 Yuan coin is legal tender and struck in 3.11 grams of pure .999 gold. It will be delivered to you sealed in a clear protective holder and accompanied by a Certificate of Authenticity. While our supply lasts, your cost is just $89 plus S/H. **Note: Due to rapid changes in the price of gold bullion and the worldwide demand for gold Pandas this price cannot be guaranteed. Call for current price. Due to limited mintage this coin is subject to sell-out.**

Satisfaction Guarantee

You must be 100% satisfied with your order, or simply return it within 30 days by insured mail for a prompt refund of the purchase price. Our firm has been the exclusive worldwide distributor for several gold and silver coins from China, Britain and South Africa. Since 1985, tens of thousands of satisfied customers have acquired over $290 million in precious metal coins from First Federal and its parent company.

2004 50 Yuan Gold Panda $89 +S&H

5 Gold Pandas for $85 Each +S&H
SAVE $37.50

10 Gold Pandas for $82 Each +S&H
SAVE $126.00

TOLL-FREE 24 HOURS A DAY
1-800-859-1642
Promotional Code YGP114-01
Please mention Promotional Code when you call.

We can also accept your check by phone.
To order by mail call for details.

First Federal Mint

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. YGP114-01, Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

Note: The First Federal Mint, LLC is a private distributor of government and private coin and medallic issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government.

www.FirstFederalMint.com **1-800-859-1642**

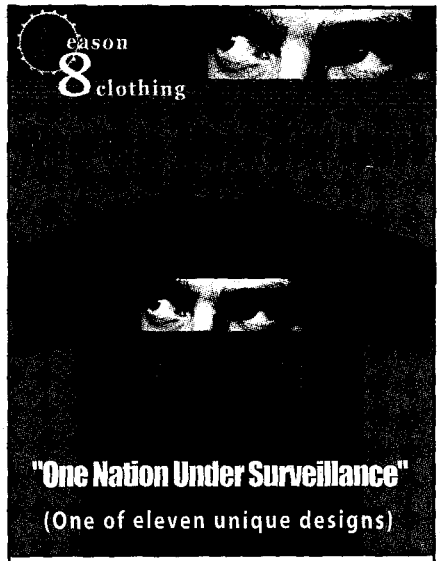
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

powerful enough to propel Marco through the rest of the movie. In a memorably uncomfortable exchange, made all the more painful for taking place in the narrow vestibule of a school as children play outside, Marco clumsily tries to pay this Corporal Al Melvin to go away, then counsels the exasperated ghost to "get help." The appropriateness of this advice becomes evident as soon as we see Marco return to his apartment. Odd, you think, that such an impressive-looking officer should live in a storage closet for old newspapers.

As drama rather than politics, *The Manchurian Candidate* is the story of how Marco almost decomposes like Corporal Al Melvin (whose own apartment has turned into an outsider art installation). Instead, through defiance, he holds together, like other avengers before him. In Demme's hands, *The Manchurian Candidate* also becomes a drama about friendship. As part of Marco's heroic struggle for sanity, he seeks out another of his former soldiers, Raymond Shaw, and after a bad start the two manage to overcome their soul-killing isolation. They discover the sad but substantial bond of being damaged men.

Audiences who have followed Denzel Washington's movie adventures will find that his realization of Major Marco rings profoundly true. We have often seen Washington wear a uniform, and he frequently plays an unraveling man of action, whose strength must be turned inward to control himself. (Only a few months ago, Tony Scott's unforgivable *Man on Fire* wasted him in such a role.) *The Manchurian Candidate* draws on, and deepens, this well-established image, and not just by mixing in some politics. To the restrained, well-centered bearing and unpredictable surges of power, Washington now adds a keyed-up thoughtfulness, which you sense at work behind even his most lurid acts. His achievement in *The Manchurian Candidate* is to do the most mad things, under the most extreme pressure, and make them seem coolly experimental.

Washington in this movie always seems to be holding back tears, for fear they'll impede his thinking. Schreiber, on the other hand, gives the impression of fighting against chronic vertigo. His Raymond Shaw walks stiffly, with his hands dangling in front of him. When he speaks, a deep, smooth voice rolls out from no identifiable source in his body. He's the very picture of what it means to forget oneself—until, unexpectedly, an internal gear catches, and he begins to talk to rather than at the person before him. What he says would embarrass a normal 34-year-old, but it almost doesn't matter, since something human has been



100% Sweatshop-Free
Individual/Wholesale Orders: 617-787-2615
www.reason8.net

Anybody But BUSH
"Anybody But Bush" t-shirt • item #1006 • sizes S-3X
Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
to order, or for a free catalog • 800.258.8579 xTN
www.northernsun.com

Wear Your Wrath For WAL*MART!
Sweatshop Free Shirts!
Write to HEL*MART, PO Box 66, Cinebar, WA 98533 for a free catalog or on the internet at:
www.HEL-MART.com

BUSH MERCH.COM
OutWear The President
T-Shirts, Postcards, Stickers & More

Tuscany - Pisa/Florence area
Specialises in apartments in converted period properties
Wonderful opportunities to buy early or discount
From US $170,000
Independent properties also available
English speaking agent will meet and escort
Tel: 0044 (0)208 406 7923
tuscanconnection@blueyonder.co.uk

Jose Chavez Morado
Death, War, Science
The Bryna Collection
Call: Dr. David Prensky
(561) 832-8511

THE BUSH RECORD
There's no disputing the Bush administration's divisive and extreme policies on the war, the environment, the economy, etc.
Sign up for Pesky Reminders at
★ ★ ★ www.peskyfacts.com ★ ★ ★

"Blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called the children of God."
-Matthew 5:9
Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America
www.bpfna.org

Products for Protest Profits for Peace
GLOBALIZATION: I.M.F'D
AntiWar, Anti-Bush T-shirts & buttons
www.PROTESTWORKS.com
or write:POB 424906, SF,CA 94142

HONESTY and SINCERITY: An American Possibility
by Karen Hardtke
A refreshing view of how people served the republic honestly before there was an appointed regime. $12. Karen Hardtke, P.O. Box 157, Pengilly, MN 55775.

"Powerful testimonies! This certainly deserves to be seen by a broad audience"- Howard Zinn
XXI CENTURY - The Last Empire
by Gabriele Zamparini and Lorenzo Meccoli
an Award Winning Documentary with Chomsky, Zinn, Vidal, Amnesty International, The Nation, Democracy Now!, and many other voices of dissent
For info and to order a copy on DVD or VHS
www.thecatsdream.com or call 1.888.232.0439

DOPE ON A ROPE!
Finally, Bush is cleaning up America - one buttcrack at a time! Wash away your anger with the president you can hang in your shower! All natural soap.
www.dope-on-a-rope.com
$10.99 a head

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOYAGES with a VISION

Travel with MADRE

An international women's human rights organization

Chiapas, Mexico
October 9-16, 2004: Celebrate Indigenous women's resistance. Learn about the impact of free trade and militarization on Indigenous Peoples and the struggle for autonomy and collective rights.

Guatemala: January 8-15, 2005
Nicaragua: January 15-22, 2005
Peru: February 2005

MADRE 121 West 27th Street, #301
New York, NY 10001 tel: (212) 627-0444
email: travel@madre.org www.madre.org

Speak directly to the Iraqi people

Share your feelings about the war waged in your name

Join the Iraq Photo Project

The Fellowship of Reconciliation.
Working for peace since 1914.

(845) 358-4601 FOR www.forusa.org

Discover Asia, In All Directions

Follow the Ghandian Legacy in India, visit the war-torn countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, or join us on our new trip to China.

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 ext. 233 | www.globalexchange.org

THE MACHIAVELLIAN NEOCONSERVATIVES
Commentary
http://www.worthingtonsworld.com

BUSH
A GLOBAL DISASTER
A NATIONAL DISGRACE
Outraged?
Try this bumper sticker. Mail $2 to K&L.
PO Box 1108, Boulder, CO 80306-1108

switched on. Schreiber's achievement in *The Manchurian Candidate*—a feat that is perhaps even more remarkable than Washington's—is to do all this almost simultaneously. His Shaw is made up of multiple, translucent layers of creepiness and vulnerability.

This is the human core of *The Manchurian Candidate*, to which Meryl Streep contributes nothing. She doesn't need to. Her assignment, which she carries off with breathtaking brio, is to provide explicit political content and laughter. When she's absent, the grotesque humor that was so much a part of the original *Manchurian Candidate* is nowhere to be found. Demme allows you that pleasure only when Streep is on screen, tossing off idiosyncratic choices so quickly, and so precisely on the mark, that she might be Vladimir Horowitz playing a scherzo. Here's a sudden pianissimo, dropped into a sentence just for fun; here's a rude marcato, executed by crunching an ice cube with the teeth.

And here, at the beginning of the film, is a tirade delivered to the leaders of her political party, to tell them why today, in a time of international terror, her son Raymond must be made the vice-presidential candidate, or there will be hell to pay. After Streep's Senator Shaw concludes her well-calculated rampage, the party elders meekly give in—which makes you wonder why Manchurian Global would need brainwashing technology.

The fact is, the company doesn't need it—and that's not a weakness of the plot but the point of the movie. Demme has filled *The Manchurian Candidate*, supersaturated it, with examples of the actual mind-control technology that drills into our heads today: the twenty-four-hour, 360-degree yammer of cable news shows and talk-radio programs. He's made the ambient soundtrack thick with these electronic voices, often piled one on top of the other. Their reports (always false) envelop his characters wherever they go. Their generalized warnings and moralized reassurances get in here, and nobody (except a presumed madman like Marco) wants to dig them out. The masters of the airwaves give us something we enjoy to the point of physical addiction, as Demme subtly reminds us in perhaps the scariest effect in the movie: the smile of pleasure that opens on Raymond Shaw's face when his controllers plug into his brain.

I walked out of *The Manchurian Candidate* thinking of how Demme, with his devotion to classical storytelling, prefers not to draw attention to his technique. Two hours later, as the movie throbbed obsessively in my skull, I began to wonder how much more overpowering anyone's tech-

A DOCUMENTARY BY
THE MEDIA EDUCATION FOUNDATION

HIJACKING CATASTROPHE

9/11, Fear & the Selling of American Empire

Narrated by JULIAN BOND

"★★★★ Gripping"
San Francisco Chronicle

"Explosive and empowering"
NAOMI KLEIN

"The best explanation of the headlong thrust into war I have seen."
WOODY POWELL | Veterans for Peace

"A great movie"
Antiwar.com

"A horrifying portrait of organized U.S. imperialist expansion."
Variety

"Fire up the house parties! The perfect complement to Fahrenheit 9/11"
ROBERT McCHESNEY

"As sober and scarifying as a pilfered confidential file."
San Francisco Bay Guardian

"A film every citizen who cares about democracy should see."
MICHAEL LEONARD
Nat'l Soc. of News Columnists

Now Available on DVD & VHS at
www.hijackingcatastrophe.org

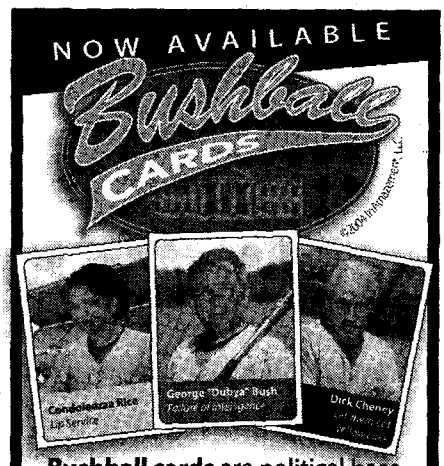
$19.95 *Plus S/H*

FEATURING INTERVIEWS WITH
Tariq Ali | Benjamin Barber | Medea Benjamin
Noam Chomsky | Kevin Danaher | Mark Danner
Shadia Drury | Michael Dyson | Daniel Ellsberg
Michael Franti | Stan Goff | William Hartung
Robert Jensen | Chalmers Johnson | Jackson Katz
Michael T. Klare | Lt. Col. Karen Kwiatkowski (Ret.)
Norman Mailer | Zia Mian | Mark Crispin Miller
Scott Ritter | Vandana Shiva | Norman Solomon
Greg Speeter | Fernando Suarez del Solar | Max Wolff | Immanuel Wallerstein | Jody Williams

MEDIA EDUCATION FOUNDATION mef

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW AVAILABLE



Bushball cards are political baseball cards that slam the right wing. Just like real baseball cards, they have images and stats, along with some of our own text. To order,
www.bushballcards.com
Each pack of 8 cards is $4.99

Compassionate Listening Tour of Israel/Palestine
November 7–19
Learn, listen, contribute to healing of Palestinians, Israelis, ourselves.
An unforgettable experience.
See website www.pepeace.org Trips and Events or call (203) 878-4769

JOSEPH DASHMAN
of Brooklyn, NY died on May 5th, 2004.
He will be missed by all who knew him.
His passing at 92 was the end of a long, progressive and aware life.

nique could be. The dense textures and hypnotic imagery of his *Manchurian Candidate* don't distract from the onward rush of events while you're watching the picture, which runs for more than two hours and yet seems to speed by. But later, when the full effect hits, you realize that the electronic sounds around you can no longer be ignored. Later, you begin to grieve for Major Bennett Marco, who found that revenge can't wash away the past.

At long intervals, movie reviewers get to write about women as the lead actors in public events. When those rare occasions arise, we usually have Margarethe von Trotta to thank. With films such as *The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum*, *Marianne and Juliane*, *Rosa Luxemburg* and *The Long Silence*, she has occupied an all too lonely place in international cinema. More to the point, she has occupied it extraordinarily well, as you can see in *Rosenstrasse*, which is her latest film and therefore by definition newsworthy.

Complex in structure and leisurely in pace, *Rosenstrasse* has as one of its strands the dramatization of a historic event: a singular protest against Nazi power in 1943 Berlin. Aryan women who were in mixed marriages gathered in an impromptu street demonstration outside the building where their Jewish husbands were being held, having suddenly been rounded up for deportation to the camps. This is the past-tense part of the film. The present-tense strand concerns a young Jewish woman from New York, the daughter of a Holocaust survivor, who comes to Berlin to interview one of these Aryan women who valiantly held their ground. To the older woman, the interview is about her desperate efforts to save her husband. To the younger one, it's secretly about her mother.

I suppose I could fault *Rosenstrasse* for some implausibilities in its frame story, some sluggishness in getting started and haste in wrapping up. But I like the film's sense of breadth, which von Trotta achieves with modest means: a couple of dozen extras, some crane shots and a few borrowed locations. I admire the way she makes the strands draw tighter, the deeper she gets into the story. Most of all, I marvel at her feeling for the human contradictions of history. *Rosenstrasse* dramatizes one woman's triumph and another woman's disaster; and they're the same story.

Screening Schedule: My great predecessor at *The Nation*, Manny Farber, once wrote of Anthony Mann, "The films of this tin-can de Sade have a Germanic rigor, a caterpillar intimacy, and an original dictionary of ways in which to punish the human body." He was describing the film noirs of the late 1940s. In the '50s, Mann moved on to greater glory with the western, which he may be said to have revolutionized with James Stewart as his star. From August 11 to 29, the Film Society of Lincoln Center is giving audiences a chance to revisit Mann's achievement in the twenty-five-film series "Dark Streets and Vast Horizons: The American Vision of Anthony Mann." For information: (212) 875-5600 or www.filmlinc.com. ■

EVENTS

NATIONAL

Economy Connection

■ War and Global Capitalism. Unemployment and Recession. For speakers and resources on these and related topics, contact Economy Connection, a project of the Union for Radical Political Economics. We can provide speakers for formal or informal events sponsored by community groups, unions, high schools, colleges or political organizations. Our speakers can talk about wealth and poverty, and the economic forces that generate increasing income inequality, among and within countries. Contact us at soapbox@comcast.net or (201) 792-7459.

NEW YORK

Americans Are Dying for Healthcare

■ Be a part of the solution. The Campaign for a National Health Program—Now! Come to the Free Rally for National Healthcare August 31–September 1 at The Graduate Center, 365 5th Avenue (between 34th & 35th Streets). Speakers: Congressman John Conyers; President Leo Gerard, United Steelworkers; James Forbes, Senior Minister, Riverside Church; Dr. Steffie Woolhandler, co-founder, National Health Program. Invited: Michael Moore, writer, director, filmmaker. CNHP NOW! Visit www.cnhpnow.org for more info; (212) 475-8350 info@cnhpnow.org.

A Gathering of The TRIBES

■ *Tribes* magazine, Tribes Gallery, Fly By Night Press. Literary readings, music, performances now available. *Ovarian Twists: New and Selected Poems* by Anyssa Kim, $14, published by Fly By Night Press, a subsidiary of A Gathering of the Tribes, Inc. *A Gathering of the Tribes* magazine, issue #10, $12.50, is at quality bookstores in your area, or order directly from Tribes, PO Box 20693, Tompkins Square Station, New York, NY 10009, info@tribes.org, www.tribes.org, (212) 674-8262. Every month, Tribes Gallery presents excellent art shows from the perspective of diversity. Call for appointment. Hours 12–6 PM, Tuesday–Sunday. We are at 285 East 3rd Street (between Avenues C and D), 2nd floor.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $175 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

BOOKLETS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET DECIPHERS NT CODES, incontrovertibly proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. $10. Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (details, SASE).

GLOBAL WARMING IS KILLING FORESTS HERE AND NOW. For an executive summary, send $5 to: The Forest Keeper, P.O. Box 1519, Yucaipa, CA 92399.

BOOKS

STAY IN TOUCH WITH CUBA—PEX, importing and selling Cuban cultural products in the United States since 1989. Books, magazines, CDs, videos and more. 1-888-458-CUBA or www.pexstore.com.

VULGARIAN GOULASH: At long last, radical fiction more real than reality. Now at www.amazon.com and www.bn.com.

LAUGH BUSH OUT OF OFFICE with *The Adventures of King Bushy Tushy* by Herschel Sternlieb. "...in the great tradition of satire, wit and searing insight..." —Ralph Nader. $12.95 Green Horizon Books-N P.O. Box 476, Topsham, Maine 04086. ISBN 0-9755364-0-0 at your local bookstore or at Amazon.com.

NO LIBRARY OF LUDDITE-IANA is complete without the extremely rare sixty-four-page 1812 record of the trials of our martyred forebears in Lancaster County, England. Be the only one in your Luddite cell to possess such a document. Offered at $500 by Bibliobarn. Call (607) 538-1555 for details.

THE BOOK KING GEORGE didn't want published. *The Gladiators Wore Blue* by Steven Uman. www.xlibris.com/TheGladiatorsWoreBlue.html (888) 795-4274, ext. 276.

CHIROPRACTOR

DR. VITTORIA REPETTO, CHIROPRACTOR. Applied kinesiologist, manipulation, muscle-balancing, organ energy, cranial, sacral & acu-point work. One-hour sessions. (212) 431-3724, www.drvittoriarepetto.meta-ehealth.com.

CONSULTING

"IF YOU KEEP DOING WHAT YOU'RE DOING, you'll keep getting what you're getting" (Les Brown): www.theaddededge.com.

CONTRACTOR

NYC BASED. RENOVATION, DESIGN, CABINETRY. Co-op, townhouse, loft, office, restaurant, etc. Skilled, creative, responsible. Licensed (DCA #1131700), insured, references. Tegra Construction Inc. (917) 567-2778.

COUNSELING

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: TREAT depression, anxiety, relationship problems, etc. Specialize in concerns of artists and academics. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

DONATIONS

WANT TO REALLY CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR ALMA MATER? Buy a class *The Nation* for a semester. If you know a professor who would like to offer free semester-length student subscriptions to her/his students, we'll offer you 12 or 16 weeks at the lowest prices we charge anywhere. For information write: Classroom Education Program, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

FILM

FREEDOM TO MARRY—The "soul-opening" new marriage-equality documentary! Order a DVD online at www.freedomtomarry.tv.

INVESTMENT

SEEKING PRIVATE EQUITY INVESTORS comfortable with film investing. Relevant literary masterpiece; "A-List" director to attach. For details please call producer at (714) 932-0693, or write to BLM-LTD@Lycos.com.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

SULTRY SUMMER SEX. My words on your tongue. Erotic storyteller will stroke your desires. enyabouche@yahoo.com.

THE RIGHT STUFF: Date fellow graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, Stanford, UCB, University of Chicago, Northwestern and others. More than 4,000 members. See www.rightstuffdating.com, (800) 988-5288.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

EROTIC VACATIONS with private introductions to friendly, beautiful, women. Bendrick International Men's Vacation Club. www.bendricks.com.

WWW.HIPPIEPERSONALS.COM. Make love not war. Free registration. Free personals ad search. Progressive peaceniks online dating!

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

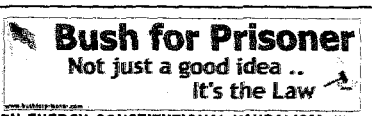
If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

LOANS & MORTGAGES

BAY AREA LOAN AGENT contributes 5 percent of commission to your progressive cause. Purchasing or refinancing your home, please call Jerzy Brozyna, Bankers Network, (408) 806-7320, or jerzy@sbcglobal.net. DRE# 01243578.

MERCHANDISE

DECOMPRESSION FOR THE DEMOCRAT!™ SeeYaGeorge.com. Outrageous Political Shopping for Your Progressive State of Mind!



HARKEN ENERGY, CONSTITUTIONAL VANDALISM, Illegal Invasion, Abu Ghraib. He's a criminal. Bumper sticker at www.bushforprisoner.com.

WWJD? WHAT WOULD JUNIOR DO? Find out at www.reefermagnets.com.

YARD SIGNS. 2,000+ up in Ithaca, NY. You should see it! Join the campaign. www.bushmustgo.net.

MERCHANDISE

WWW.READTHESELIPS.COM bumper stickers (removable) for the thinking progressive. Let the world read YOUR lips.

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at http://shop.thenation.com and exercise subtle and not so subtle dissent. Great gifts (prices on some items now reduced).

UnSeatBUSH.com. Assorted affordable bumper stickers! Excellent nonprofit fundraisers. Spread visible resistance/awareness! (619) 226-1116.

CALL IT WHAT IT IS. Bumper $2 each, 3 for $5. Bulk rates available. Order or request details at: bytebush@yahoo.com.

THE TEMPERATURE AT WHICH REGIMES CHANGE

WWW.NORTHLANDPOSTER.COM. Art for justice. T-shirts, stickers, buttons, mugs, greeting cards, youth and baby. Union-made.

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org: Friends Committee on National Legislation.

FRUTEX MENDAX = BUSH LIAR. A commemorative coin that suits W. to a T. www.goony.us.

RE-DEFEAT BUSH T-SHIRTS WWW.JIMMORRIS.COM (800) 788-5411. Wear your opinion on your shirt! Check out our new anti-Bush designs.

ORGANIZATIONS

LAS VEGAS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Contact Harold Barling, (702) 736-6905, for more information.

ALBUQUERQUE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meeting regularly. Call (505) 797-1455 or e-mail h.aarli@comcast.net for more information.

HUNTINGTON, LI, NY, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Call John Valenti, (631) 549-3926.

BRONX (RIVERDALE)/WESTCHESTER, NY, *NATION* DISCUSSION Group meets one afternoon a month. For further information please phone Florence Gold at (718) 549-1601.

ASHEVILLE, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP MEETING. Contact Jerry McKinney for more information: Call (828) 452-7603 or e-mail jaymac_enterprises@yahoo.com.

CINCINNATI *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets regularly. Call Judith or Herbert Shapiro at (513) 861-4641.

EASTERN OKLAHOMA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP looking for members. Please contact Howard Kelley at (918) 627-9136.

OKLAHOMA CITY *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets regularly at the Full Circle Book Store, 50 Penn Place, 1900 NW Expressway St. Please call Hal Cousins at (405) 677-3623 or e-mail Bob Nichols, bobnichols@cox.net for further information.

INTERESTED IN JOINING THE HOUSTON *NATION* DISCUSSION group? Contact Charles Mauch at (713) 524-2492 or e-mail chasmauch@aol.com.

MONTPELIER, VT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is meeting. For information call (802) 229-9918 or e-mail lnichol@together.net.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

ORGANIZATIONS

GIG HARBOR, WA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is seeking new members. Call Bill Nerin (253) 851-8888 or e-mail nerins@earthlink.net.

SOUTHERN VERMONT *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming, centered in Wilmington and the surrounding towns of Marlboro, Halifax, Whitingham, Readsboro, Woodford and West Dover, but all interested persons from the Brattleboro, Greenfield and Bennington areas invited to join. For information please call Bob Silverman, (802) 464-5149.

NORTH JERSEY *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP: Coordinator is Trudy Anschuetz, phone (973) 746-4135 e-mail TGOBLUE1@aol.com.

BRANDON, FL, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Mary, (813) 689-8859.

PLEASANTON CA, Fremont, San Ramon, Danville, Dublin, Livermore *Nation* discussion group now forming. Call John @ (925) 462-6815 or e-mail supervalue10@aol.com.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR: See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS DESIRED

SEATTLE-AREA NANNY NOW AVAILABLE. Experienced, educated, responsible, kind 25-year-old female. Car included. Live-out. Kristi_johannsen@hotmail.com.

PROTEST

NO RNC! T-SHIRTS TOO! www.campshutdown.com.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, PhD, 25 years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

PUBLISHER

NONFICTION MANUSCRIPTS WANTED: Top royalties, major distribution: Brown Walker Press, www.BrownWalker.com.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® Seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Town & Ranch (800) 418-1221 x 171 or pkahn@keshi.com.

NYC RENTALS

ROOM AND BATH, kitchen privileges in quiet Upper East Side Manhattan apartment. Days, weeks, *pied-à-terre* arrangements. (212) 722-4316.

BEAUTIFUL ROOM. Bath, on high floor, Upper East Side. Transportation. Rent by month or week. (212) 427-7658.

SCHOOL VOLUNTEER

LONGTIME MOVEMENT PERSON and experienced teacher looking to volunteer in elementary classroom. DonMcKelvey@earthlink.net for info and references.

TAXATION

CAPITALISM? SOCIALISM? FREEDOM VS. JUSTICE? Prosperity vs. sustainability? Learn about the third way: www.singletax.org.

TRAVEL/TOURS

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation*, page 43, www.globalexchange.org.

FLORENCE, ITALY—ARCHITECT'S HOME. Bed and breakfast: olive groves, vineyards, stunning views. Fifteen minutes from center. 75E per night. Tel. 0039-055-204-7493. Visit us at www.casabartolini.it.

WEBSITES

HILARIOUS, BITING satirical letters to Bush, Cheney, Condi, Mel Gibson et al. Regular updates. www.paulchasman.com.

THE REAL DEAL? Untouched by the Carlyle Group, Halliburton, Bechtel, White House, House of Bush and House of Saud. Straightforward talk at the independent, Washington, DC–based, WWW.SAUDIPOLITICS.COM.

WWW.OLDTOWNREVIEW.COM: *"If this is indeed the path one chooses, let's at least get it out in the open."*

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.50/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.25 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $45/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4" wide by 1/2" deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $30 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

ABOUT YOUR *NATION* SUBSCRIPTION

Subscription orders, changes of addresses and other subscription inquiries can be made directly online at https://ssl.thenation.com. You can also mail to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call (800) 333-8536.

Please allow us six weeks to solve a subscription problem or to change your address. These transactions are handled by our subscription service in Boulder, CO. They operate their computers on a long-range schedule that allows for orderly processing, generating reports and producing labels for mailing the magazine.

Bills and renewals. You may get a bill or a renewal notice after you have already paid or renewed. Please disregard it. Bills and renewal notices are mailed on a monthly basis, but since the information must be pulled two weeks before the mailing, bills and payments sometimes cross in the mail.

Changing your address. When you change your address, we need the complete old and new addresses as well as a copy of your mailing label, if possible. If your new address is temporary, please send to "temporary address change" and make sure to include your permanent address and the dates of the change. And you can change your address yourself online at https://ssl.thenation.com/address/mhtml.

Missed copies. We publish 47 issues and send over 6.2 million copies to our subscribers each year. Occasionally copies go astray, for a variety of reasons. If you notify us of missed copies within 60 days of the issue date, we will be happy to replace them.

Mailing list. *The Nation* makes its subscription list available to carefully screened organizations whose programs or services may interest our readers. No one is allowed to use our list without our approval. If you do not wish to receive such solicitations, however, please advise us and we will delete your name from the lists we make available.

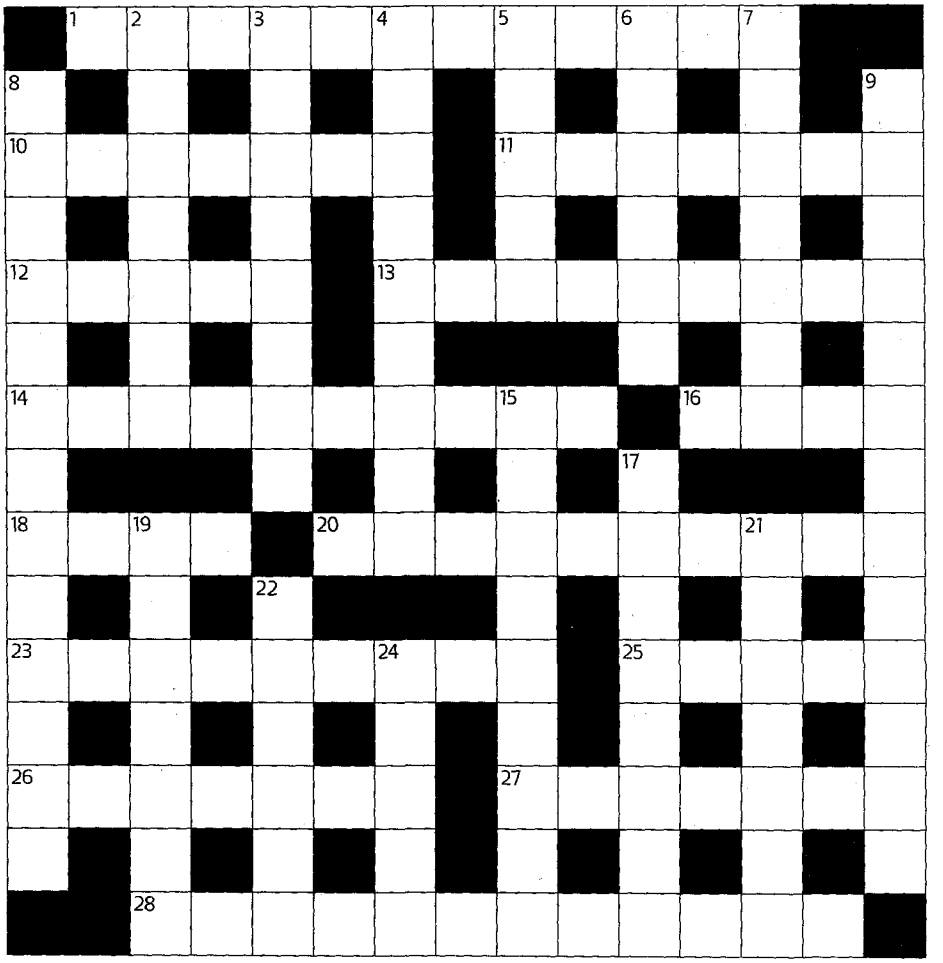
Foreign subscriptions. *Copies going* to Canada are shipped by surface mail. Other subscription orders outside the U.S. are sent via airmail.

The Nation hopes to give its subscribers the best possible service. We appreciate your cooperation and understanding.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 2952

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 If you are trying to get around the post, this could be quite a challenge! (3,4,5)

10 The sign often says not to do it when, after a number, it's wrong to rub the wrong way. (7)

11 Ask rather plaintively, with two important points in part of the forest. (7)

12 Slightly burn the beginning of what one might do to a course. (5)

13 Supposedly a woeful time to be born. (9)

14 The airs of the "Me" generation? (5,5)

16 Possibly dead literature of Iceland. (4)

18 Does make a bitter medicine, sometimes! (4)

20 The moment I'd be in the wrong, I'd see a characterization of it. (10)

23 The ways that Lucy dwelt among! (9)

25 Belonging to you and me (that is, in Scotland) it's considered rather dismal. (5)

26 What comes up daily to be morning light, like a ray? (7)

27 A famous prison for an infamous man. (7)

28 Evidently there's something illegal going on in DC, which could lead to a terrible demise. (7,5)

DOWN

2 The one who is treating you has a few years to get someone taken in as a bargaining chip. (7)

3 Rather lean and haggard, to allow finally what is run under duress. (8)

4 Not the place where you shove people around, but you might like it if you're feeling crowded. (5,4)

5 What the Londoner did to get to work, according to what the television and radio were. (5)

6 A tree's cut down just when the rabbit is supposed to appear. (6)

7 Bring me up above the terminal over Mr. McMahon—and be corrected. (7)

8 A school of opinion might be necessary before having one, being perhaps cued on an uncertain date, as one might suppose. (8,5)

9 With a wild cry, hums such as "The Star Spangled Banner" inside part of the flower show. (13)

15 A common weed having reasons the Spanish appear here. (9)

17 A onetime reptile is around in different form. (8)

19 A rather devilish clue cast in a different light. (7)

21 Possibly the mad role of what a nobleman might have. (7)

22 The way unexpected things appear, as Mae requested us to do. (4,2)

24 Clocked up to resign from public office, possibly. (5)

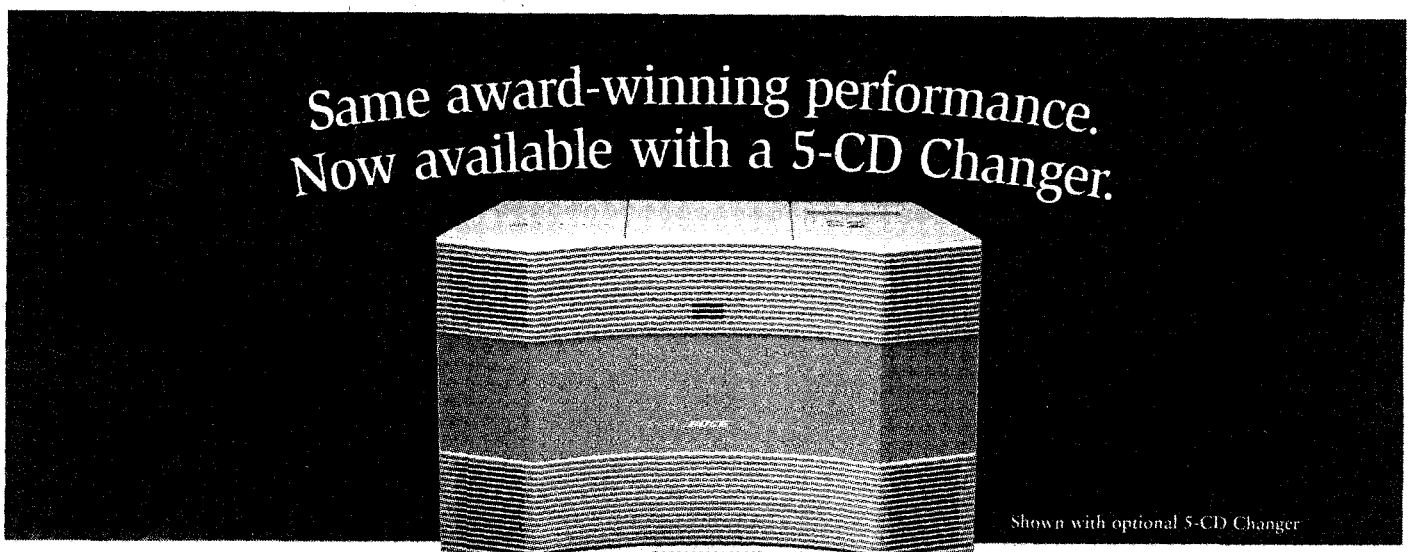
PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2951

F	O	R	E	G	O	■	A	S	P	I	R	A	N	T
R	■	A	■	R	■	C	■	O	■	N	■	C	■	O
U	P	P	S	A	L	A	■	B	U	T	C	H	E	R
I	■	P	■	I	■	T	■	A	■	H	■	E	■	E
T	R	I	A	L	■	A	N	D	■	E	R	R	O	R
I	■	N	■	■	■	C	■	■	■	■	■	O	■	O
O	R	G	A	N	■	O	C	C	I	D	E	N	T	■
N	■	■	■	O	■	M	■	O	■	O	■	■	■	U
■	V	E	R	T	E	B	R	A	■	G	A	T	E	S
O	■	N	■	■	■	■	■	L	■	■	■	O	■	H
R	U	N	O	F	■	T	H	E	■	H	O	U	S	E
Y	■	O	■	L	■	U	■	S	■	O	■	R	■	R
R	E	B	O	U	N	D	■	C	O	U	S	I	N	S
O	■	L	■	N	■	O	■	E	■	S	■	S	■	I
T	R	E	K	K	E	R	S	■	S	E	A	M	A	N

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Same award-winning performance. Now available with a 5-CD Changer.

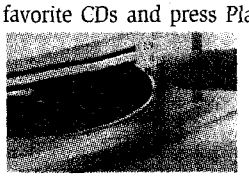


When we introduced the Acoustic Wave® music system, audio critic Wayne Thompson called it "simply the best-sounding compact stereo system in captivity." *Sound & Vision* reported that it delivers "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard." By offering the sound of a big, complicated stereo system – but from an all-in-one music system hardly the size of a briefcase – the Bose® Acoustic Wave® music system set a new industry standard.

So how did we make this award-winning system even better? By listening to owners and developing the CD changer they asked for. Engineered specifically for the Acoustic Wave® music system, our separate 5-CD Changer allows you to enjoy hours of music. You can even use it to connect other audio sources to your system – transforming it into a versatile audio center for movies, music and more.

Lifelike sound – without interruption.

Our 5-CD Changer lets you savor the Acoustic Wave® music system's award-winning sound for hours on end. Load your five favorite CDs and press Play. You'll hear your music come to life with crystal clear highs and deep, enveloping lows that fill the room.



Patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology – which won the "Invention of the Year" award – is what allows the Acoustic Wave® music system to deliver such a spacious, lifelike performance. And our 5-CD Changer lets you enjoy that room-filling sound without ever having to stop the music to change CDs.

Beyond music – without complication.

Our 5-CD Changer also lets you connect your Acoustic Wave® system to additional audio sources and switch among them at the press of a button. Connect it to your TV, VCR, DVD player or computer – and enjoy Bose quality sound from everything you listen to or watch.

The Acoustic Wave® music system and 5-CD Changer were both designed for complete ease of operation. An AM/FM radio, CD player and three speakers are all built into the Acoustic Wave® music system, so there are no confusing wires to hook up or dials to adjust. And the credit card-sized remote control lets you operate the system and all CD-changer functions with ease.

Try them for yourself, risk free.

Experience the Acoustic Wave® music system and our versatile, easy-to-use 5-CD Changer in the comfort of your own home for 30 days. If you're not completely satisfied, you may return your purchase for a full refund. Order now, and receive three top-selling Time-Life multi-CD collections free – yours to enjoy with your new Acoustic Wave® music system. When you call, be sure to ask about our **12-month no-interest payment plan.***

The Acoustic Wave® music system and 5-CD Changer are available from Bose, the most respected name in sound.

Call 1-800-310-9652

Ext. G6554

For information on all our products: www.bose.com/g6554

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Day Phone_____ Eve. Phone_____
E-mail (Optional) _____

Mail to: Bose Corp., Dept. DMG-G6554, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*On your Bose Preferred Customer credit card, subject to credit approval. The Bose Preferred Customer credit card is offered and administered by Household Bank (SB), N.A. This is a Same As Cash offer. If the balance on these purchases is paid in full before the expiration of the 12-month promotional period and your Account is kept current, accrued Finance Charges will not be imposed on these purchases. If the balance on these purchases is not paid in full, Finance Charges will be assessed from the purchase date at the variable Standard Rate APR of Prime Rate + 12.5 percentage points (19.8% as of 5/1/04). For Accounts not kept current, the variable Default Rate APR of Prime Rate + 16.5 percentage points (23.8% as of 5/1/04) will be applied to all balances on your account. Minimum Standard APR 19.8%. Minimum Default APR 23.8%. Minimum monthly payments are required. Minimum Finance Charge $1.00. Certain rules apply to the allocation of payments and Finance Charges on your promotional purchase if you make more than one purchase on your Bose Preferred Customer credit card. Call 1-888-367-4310 or review your cardholder agreement for information. ©2004 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Acoustic Wave® music system design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and Time-Life CD collection offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Wayne Thompson, *Oregonian*, 8/15/89; Julian Hirsch, *Sound & Vision*, 3/85.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG.
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED